

# *The* CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTINUING

*THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
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(Founded at the University of Toronto in 1896)

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THE BATTLE FOR AGIRA, JULY 24-8, 1943:  
AN EPISODE IN CANADIAN MILITARY HISTORY

A NUMBER of summary accounts—both official and unofficial—of Canadian military operations in the Second World War have already been published.<sup>1</sup> Since the field is so wide and since most of these early surveys attempt to cover the whole or at least a large segment of it, their treatment of any particular operation is bound to be rather cursory. To appreciate clearly the nature of the tactical problems that constantly arose and of the fighting that was endured, it is necessary to examine a single battle in greater detail. Thanks to the careful and systematic collection of source material that was instituted while the war was still in progress, it is already possible to attempt such an analysis.<sup>2</sup>

The Sicilian campaign witnessed the Canadian Army's initiation to sustained fighting in the recent war, although only one of its five active divisions participated. The campaign was completed in thirty-eight days, but the Canadian troops who took part met with such a wide variety of experiences that they were well inoculated to battle by the time that it was over. One of the series of hard fought actions in which they engaged will therefore serve to illustrate the tasks that confronted them when they were first plunged into the actual business of fighting.

#### I. BACKGROUND OF THE BATTLE

By 1943 the Western Powers had seized the initiative and were capable of meeting the enemy with superior numbers and equipment on ground of their own choosing. Such was the nature of the Sicilian campaign, the second methodical step forward on the long road to victory over Germany. The invasion was no reckless gamble, for it was not launched until an army group of more than ten divisions, supported by an air force of over 4,000 planes, and conveyed in an armada of 2,600 ships, was ready to carry out a

<sup>1</sup>Colonel C. P. Stacey, *The Canadian Army 1939-1945: An Official Historical Summary* (Ottawa, 1948); "The Canadian Army at War" series, which includes the booklets, *From Pachino to Ortona* (Ottawa, 1945) and *Canada's Battle in Normandy* (Ottawa, 1946); Ross Munro, *Gauntlet to Overlord* (Toronto, 1946); Peter Simonds, *Maple Leaf Up Maple Leaf Down* (New York, 1946). At the other end of the scale a number of regimental histories and one or two volumes of personal reminiscences have also been published.

<sup>2</sup>Such work has been going on for the last five years in the Canadian Army's Historical Section and this article is based on research that the writer did while a member of the Section.



carefully prepared plan of attack. Sicily was defended by a navy that never left its home ports, by an air force that was largely incapacitated before the landings took place, by an Italian army of some eleven divisions, imposing on paper but inconsequential in action, and by a small German corps, eventually raised to a strength of three to four divisions.<sup>3</sup> These German troops alone prevented the campaign from being a mere formality. Although lacking adequate resources and initially caught off balance, they had one great asset, which they exploited to the full—the island's difficult terrain.

The actual landings across the beaches of southeastern Sicily were effected with greater ease than had been anticipated, although the Americans at Gela had to stem one fierce German counter-attack (see Map 1). After this failure the Germans proceeded to withdraw their scattered forces from western Sicily with all possible speed and to concentrate on delaying the Allied advance in the vital northeastern corner of the island. General Patton's Seventh Army then proceeded to overrun all of Western Sicily with remarkable rapidity in face of indifferent Italian opposition but of serious topographical and logistical difficulties. To the east the British Eighth Army had made initial gains, capturing the port of Syracuse within twenty-hour hours of landing. But, as the Germans began to regain their balance, the 13th Corps' drive across the river-scarred Catania Plain was brought to a virtual standstill with the bloody battle for the Prima Sole bridgehead. General Montgomery won this battle, but he considered that the price was too high to justify his pressing on up the coast towards Catania. Instead he decided to shift the weight of his attack to his left flank, directing the 30th Corps towards Enna in the centre of the island and then eastward in a "left hook" towards Adrano at the base of Mount Etna, thereby loosening the Catania defences and forcing a general German withdrawal from the plain. With General Patton's tasks in western Sicily completed by July 23, the American Seventh Army was then free to swing eastwards, parallel to the northern coast, and thus to complete the Allied encircling movement.<sup>4</sup>

The change in the Eighth Army's plans greatly affected the role of the 1st Canadian Infantry Division, which had landed on

<sup>3</sup>Historical Officer, Canadian Military Headquarters (in Great Britain), Report no. 126; Colonel Bogislaw von Bonin, "Considerations of the Italian Campaign, 1943-1944," a report prepared for the Canadian Army Historical Section in 1947. For further information regarding the campaign see Lord Alexander's despatch, "The Conquest of Sicily" (*London Gazette*, Feb. 10, 1948, second supplement).

<sup>4</sup>See Alexander, "Conquest of Sicily," and Lord Montgomery, *El Alamein to the River Sangro* (London, 1948), 78-86.

the left flank of the 30th Corps and hence of the whole Army. On July 15 it assumed the task of leading the 30th Corps' drive towards the strategically situated town of Enna; on July 19, while still eight miles short of this objective, it was diverted north towards Leonforte, which was taken after fierce fighting along with the twin citadel of Assoro on July 22. Enna was occupied by the 1st United States Infantry Division, which then began to wheel to the right and to advance eastward along a highway some eight to twelve miles north of the Canadian Division's route. Because of the mountainous nature of the country, there was little contact between the two divisions in the subsequent fighting.<sup>5</sup>

At a meeting at his headquarters on July 21 General Montgomery outlined his revised plan of operations. The 30th Corps, reinforced by the 78th Division, which was to be brought over from North Africa, was to prepare for a full scale offensive on the road centres in the Adrano area and thence north on Randazzo beginning about August 1. The 13th Corps on the Catania Plain and the 51st Highland Division on the 30th Corps' right flank were to "reorganize," maintaining the gains already achieved and keeping the Germans in the area diverted by periodical small attacks. The Canadian Division's immediate task was "to continue without restraint directed on Adrano," and for this reason they were to be given priority in the supply of artillery ammunition, which was closely rationed for the rest of the Army.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of the Canadian Division's operations can only be properly appreciated in light of the topography of the rugged and barren country through which they had to pass. Leonforte lies at the western end of a high but undulating plateau, which extends eastward some eight miles to the larger town of Agira, built on the western slope of a steep cone-shaped hill. This plateau divides the valleys of the Salso and Dittaino rivers, which lie about a thousand feet below it to the north and the south respectively. The Palermo-Enna-Catania highway (No. 121), which climbs on to the plateau at Leonforte, continues eastwards through Agira, thence another eighteen miles to Adrano, and finally to the coast at Catania. The plateau itself is broken by various ravines and smaller hills, several of which straddle the highway between Agira and Nissoria, a smaller town four miles to the west. The Canadians had a good observation post on the castle-topped peak of the Assoro mountain, which forms a 3,000

<sup>5</sup>For further details see Alexander, "Conquest of Sicily," and the booklet *Pachino to Ortona*.

<sup>6</sup>Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q., Report no. 135; Montgomery, *El Alamein to the River Sangro*, 85-6.

foot southern bastion to the plateau, two miles to the southeast of Leonforte<sup>7</sup> (see Map 2).

On July 22 General Guy Simonds, commanding the 1st Canadian Division, had four infantry brigades at his disposal, the 1st Canadian occupying positions in the vicinity of Assoro, the 2nd Canadian at Leonforte, the 3rd Canadian some miles to the southeast in the Dittaino Valley, and the 231st British (Malta) Brigade, which had recently come under his command, in the mountains to the south of Agira. That evening he issued instructions for the capture of Agira by the 1st Brigade, supported by diversionary operations of the 231st to the south and east of the town. Prior to the attack, 'A' Squadron of the Divisional Reconnaissance Regiment was to maintain contact with the enemy on the highway between Leonforte and Agira.<sup>8</sup> In the meantime the 1st Brigade had to occupy a road junction northeast of Leonforte, where another highway branched off to Nicosia about eight miles to the north. The 48th Highlanders, who were entrusted with this task on the night of July 22, were forced temporarily to withdraw in the face of fierce German resistance. On the following morning it was found that the Germans had vacated the objective, but they kept it under harassing fire throughout the day.<sup>9</sup> The attack on Agira, which had been originally scheduled for the 23rd, was now postponed to the 24th, but in the meantime the Reconnaissance Squadron penetrated to the western edge of Nissoria and several miles up the Nicosia highway.<sup>10</sup> In each case contact was made with the enemy. To the south of Agira the 231st Brigade had made a limited advance and spent the day under heavy mortar fire.<sup>11</sup>

## II. NISSORIA—STALEMATE, JULY 24-6<sup>12</sup>

On the morning of July 24 General Simonds held a conference at which he gave detailed instructions for the 1st Brigade's attack

<sup>7</sup>The above description is based on a study of the maps used in the campaign.

<sup>8</sup>1st Canadian Division's "Instructions for Brigade Groups covering period 1800 hrs 22 July to 1800 hrs 23 July." The original or copies of this and of the other unpublished documents cited in subsequent references are to be found in the files of the Canadian Army Historical Section in Ottawa. The involved Historical Section file references, which have been omitted to save space, will be found in Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q., Reports nos. 126 and 135. Except where otherwise noted all data references are to the year 1943.

<sup>9</sup>War Diaries, R.C.R. and 48 Highrs, July 22-3; Divisional Intelligence Log, July 23, Messages 527, 528, and 541.

<sup>10</sup>War Diary, 'A' Sqn, 4 Cdn Recce Regt, July 23. (This was the only squadron of the Regiment which had accompanied the Division to Sicily.) Divisional Intelligence Log, July 23, messages 554-63.

<sup>11</sup>Divisional Intelligence Log, July 23-4, messages 497, 502, 518, 553, 561, 569 and 591.

<sup>12</sup>See Map 2.



towards Agira. The leading troops were to cross the "start line" about three miles west of Nissoria at 2 P.M. that afternoon and subsequent "report lines" on a set time table thereafter. Artillery and air support were to be closely co-ordinated with the infantry's attack. The Divisional Artillery were to fire a schedule of concentrations on specific target areas and to lay a 2,000 yard smoke line across the road in front of the infantry. This was to be lifted 1,000 yards every twenty minutes. Certain "defensive fire" tasks were assigned to the field regiment that was supporting the 231st Brigade in its approach to Agira from the south. Fighter and medium bombers were to attack the town and other selected targets and to strafe the enemy along the roads.<sup>13</sup>

General Simonds and members of his staff climbed to the top of the Assoro mountain to watch the preliminary bombardment and what they could of the confused battle that subsequently developed. The mountain valleys on every side re-echoed to the roar of many guns, clouds of smoke and dust arose from the target area on the broken plateau immediately below them, while forty miles off to the northeast the massive bulk of Mount Etna loomed through the haze, a fitting backdrop to the drama that was being enacted along the highway. One of the observers has left the following description of the barrage as it appeared from their vantage point:

... A lot of the shells passed over our heads. We could see the target quite plainly below us. It was a large open field surrounded on three sides by a heavy wood. The artillery fire was fairly accurate, and from the bursts one could easily determine its concentrated nature. ... There was a fresh breeze blowing across the field at the time and the smoke concentration did not seem effective in spite of the number of shells dropped. The General ordered more of it. ...

During the shooting, the valleys below us were filled with a haze raised by the smoke and dust from the exploding shells and this rendered visibility poor particularly for the Air Force. When the Kitty-bombers arrived on the scene some British Army Air Co-operation officers stationed in the castle ruins sent up red smoke as a recognition signal. ... The Kitties peeled off one by one and dropped their bombs along the road. The medium bombers did not show up [which] was probably due to the haze.<sup>14</sup>

The Royal Canadian Regiment led the 1st Brigade's attack with a squadron of the 12th Canadian Tank Regiment (the Three Rivers Regiment) under its command. The attackers were uncertain of the enemy's dispositions, but it was hoped that the

<sup>13</sup>War Diary, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf. Bde, July, Appx. 16, Copy of Divisional Operation Instruction, July 24.

<sup>14</sup>Major A. T. Sesia, "Personal Notes and Observations—Sicily," pp. 49-51. (This was the personal diary of the Divisional Historical Officer.) The failure of the air attack, which is noted in other sources, was due to "signal arm trouble," which prevented the bombers from participating.



strength of the artillery and air support would eliminate much opposition before Agira was reached. Actually a force consisting of the 2nd Battalion of the Panzer Grenadier Regiment that had been defending Leonforte, stragglers from the other two battalions of the same regiment, and a number of artillery detachments, had taken up strong positions on the hills on either side of the highway about a mile east of Nissoria.<sup>15</sup>

The R.C.R.'s plan was to send two rifle companies forward, marching off the road, to take Nissoria; the other two rifle companies were then to occupy the high ground to the east. Since it was another four miles to Agira, it was expected that the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment would probably be sent forward to complete the operation.<sup>16</sup>

The advance began at 2 P.M., but according to one observer the infantry were slow in following up the artillery barrage, thus allowing the Germans time to recover from its impact.<sup>17</sup> Nissoria was soon reached and cleared, but the forward troops came under heavy machine gun and mortar fire at the eastern edge of the town, which indicated that the main German positions were in the hills immediately to the east. At this crucial point, when it was so necessary to co-ordinate the further attack of the four rifle companies, wireless communications began to break down, forcing them to adopt an awkward system of relaying messages from one to another. Nevertheless, the leading company on the left was ordered to proceed to the high ground that the enemy was holding north of the road, while the other leading company continued to advance well south of the road, where brisk fighting ensued. Thinking that the latter company had succeeded in securing the enemy position, the battalion commander, Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Crowe, ordered the remaining two companies to "push on" in the same direction. Up to this time the advance had been well covered by fire from the Brigade Support Group. The operation appeared to be developing successfully and the battalion's advance headquarters, accompanied by essential transport, moved forward into an olive grove on the outskirts of Nissoria. They soon came under heavy German artillery fire, which lasted for the rest of the

<sup>15</sup>War Diaries, R.C.R. and 12 Cdn Tks, July 24. The German regiment was either the 104th (previously the 1st) Panzer Grenadier Regiment of the 15th Panzer Grenadier Division or the 15th Panzer Grenadier Regiment of the 29th Panzer Grenadier Division, temporarily under the command of the 15th Division.

<sup>16</sup>War Diary, R.C.R., July 24, and Appx. 'V'—Company Accounts.

<sup>17</sup>Sesia, "Personal Notes and Observations," quoting Captain G. M. Sprung of the Divisional Intelligence Staff. All officers are referred to by the rank that they held in July, 1943.

day, but casualties and damage were not excessive considering their difficult position.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, the company attacking the hill north of the highway had also come under heavy fire and had suffered casualties. The platoons had become separated and communications with battalion headquarters had completely failed. On the south of the road constant firing to the right and rear of the enemy position led the battalion commander to believe that his companies were successful in this area. Therefore, accompanied by two subalterns and seven other ranks, he moved forward to make contact with them. Actually the three companies had followed a valley well south of the road, by-passing the enemy positions, and had continued eastward in the direction of Agira. As a result Colonel Crowe and his party walked straight into the enemy area. The Colonel and three of the men were some distance ahead of the rest when the Germans opened fire. He pressed on in an effort to reach his own troops, calling out "R.C.R." in the hope that they might be within earshot. He was soon wounded, but proceeded to engage the enemy with a signaller's rifle before he was killed by a second German bullet. Two of his companions were also killed, while the third was wounded and presumably taken prisoner. The rest of the party managed to withdraw to the town.<sup>19</sup>

Command of the battalion devolved on Major T. M. Powers, who was in charge of the battalion headquarters in Nissoria, but he was unable to regain contact with the three forward companies, which by now had reached a point about a mile to the southwest of Agira. Here the company commanders, realizing that the battalion was out of control, held a council-of-war and decided to consolidate their present position for the night. Patrols felt out German positions in the area, ambushed several vehicles, and under cover of darkness even penetrated into the outskirts of the town, capturing a prisoner, who later divulged some useful information.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile the fourth rifle company, which had attacked to the north of the highway, was finally forced to withdraw to Nissoria, where it joined the support company and elements of the other three rifle companies that had become separated.<sup>21</sup>

During the day one squadron of the 12th Canadian Tank Regiment was also engaged in protracted fighting, but, to judge

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.* and a less detailed account of Major T. M. Powers, R.C.R. (The accounts by regimental officers cited here and in subsequent footnotes were obtained by the Divisional Historical Officer in the field.)

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*

from the lack of references in the Diaries of the two units, its operations seem to have been independent of those of the infantry, probably because the latter were for the most part moving well off the road. According to the Tank Regiment's Diary, the tanks got ahead of the infantry in Nissoria, where they silenced an 88 mm. gun. Advancing a mile to the east of the town they encountered heavy fire from the slope overlooking the valley on their left flank and one of their tanks was knocked out of action, blocking the road against the further advance of the remainder. The Canadian tanks returned the fire and claimed successful hits on four 88 mm. guns. Enemy artillery, mortar, and machine gun fire quickly put ten of the Canadian tanks out of action and inflicted some eighteen casualties including the squadron commander. Eventually, however, six of the tanks and the wounded personnel were evacuated and the remaining tanks of the squadron withdrew to a harbour area west of Nissoria. Such is the bald outline of the tank battle, but a number of vivid if disconnected accounts of individual tank actions recorded in the regimental Diary demonstrate the impossibility of giving a complete description of a battle involving hundreds of participants.<sup>22</sup> At the same time it should not be forgotten that the big picture is made up of these little ones, that many operations of war, related in a few casual sentences are all full of noise and horror, valour and death.

When it became obvious that the R.C.R. had failed to dislodge the enemy, the Divisional Commander ordered the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade to renew the attack during the night. The 2nd and 3rd Brigades were to remain in their positions and to patrol actively north from Leonforte and eastward down the Dittaino valley, respectively. The 231st Brigade was ordered to send one battalion immediately "to sit astride" the highway three kilometres east of Agira, and to occupy key points on the roads north of the town.<sup>23</sup>

Brigadier H. D. Graham, Commander of the 1st Brigade, ordered the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment to take over the attack. Major (Lord) Tweedsmuir, the acting battalion commander, immediately went forward to confer with Major Powers, who had gathered the remnants of the R.C.R. that remained under his control into defensive positions southeast of Nissoria. After obtaining what little information he could about the situation, Major Tweedsmuir rejoined his battalion, which had come forward

<sup>22</sup>War Diary, 12 Cdn Tks, July 24. This Diary alone devotes eight pages (about 3,500 words) to the action, while the R.C.R. account fills four pages. Brigade and divisional diaries have only a few lines each.

<sup>23</sup>1st Canadian Infantry Division, Operation Instruction, 2045 hrs, July 24.

into the town, and issued instructions for the impending operation.<sup>24</sup> He had not seen the ground by daylight, but he decided to advance south of the highway and to cut it about one mile west of Agira.<sup>25</sup>

Advancing under cover of darkness the Hastings and Prince Edward soon reached the base of the southern of the two hills on which the Germans were so firmly entrenched. One of the leading companies came upon a German gun position, which it succeeded in overrunning. The remaining companies then deployed and pressed on toward the main German positions, but the enemy were by now fully alert and opened fire with machine guns and mortars and with the guns of three supporting tanks. It was already becoming light, but the rocky nature of the ground made it impossible for the attackers to dig in. Fourteen German machine guns blazed at them, apparently from all directions, while the tanks were firing at virtually point blank range. For a desperate hour and a half the Canadian infantry returned the fire, taking what cover they could behind the stone walls that crossed the rugged ground. Casualties were heavy and finally all their ammunition was expended. Therefore the commanding officer, himself wounded in the leg, ordered a withdrawal, which was effected in broad daylight. The battalion subsequently reorganized in a valley to the west of Nissoria, having suffered a reported sixty-nine casualties, including nine killed or missing. One platoon cut off from the rest was forced to remain on the battle field all day. It later came back with information regarding the enemy's defences, which aided the subsequent attack of the 2nd Brigade.<sup>26</sup>

In the course of the same day, July 25, the isolated forward companies of the Royal Canadian Regiment managed to withdraw from their precarious position inside the enemy's lines and to rejoin the rest of their unit, which had also moved into a concentration area west of Nissoria. Estimates of R.C.R. casualties for the battle of Nissoria varied from forty-five to sixty-eight.<sup>27</sup>

During the night of July 24 a battalion of the 231st Brigade had succeeded in reaching its objectives astride the main road east of Agira, but its positions were overlooked by higher ground in the possession of the enemy. On the afternoon of July 25 the

<sup>24</sup>War Diaries, G.S., H.Q., 1 Cdn Inf Div and Hast & P.E.R., July 24 and 25.

<sup>25</sup>Verbal evidence of Lord Tweedsmuir, given in conversation with the writer in 1945.

<sup>26</sup>War Diary, Hast & P.E.R., July 24-5; Accounts of Major A. R. Campbell and Captain N. R. Waugh, Hast & P.E.R., and of Major C. S. Nickel and Captain W. K. Stockloser, Hast & P.E.R.; verbal evidence of Lord Tweedsmuir.

<sup>27</sup>Account of Major Powers, which reports the casualties as four officers and sixty-four other ranks. The unit War Diary lists fifteen killed and thirty wounded.

battalion was attacked and forced to withdraw again to the south of the road.<sup>28</sup>

That evening the remaining battalion of the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade, the 48th Highlanders, was launched against the positions that the Germans were holding so stubbornly. This time it was decided to make a flanking attack from the north on the enemy-occupied hills. The attack was to be made on a one-company front with the rifle companies leap-frogging each other onto successive objectives. After some preliminary machine gun and artillery fire the assault was begun at six in the evening with little initial opposition. In the course of the operation, however, the third company failed to take the right route, and the leading companies lost contact with the rest. All three companies were stopped by enemy fire. According to the battalion commander, Lieutenant-Colonel I. S. Johnston, "all of this opposition was found to be on the top and reverse slopes of this feature and not on the forward slopes as reported by the other two battalions." Thus the attack was broken up and all companies were finally forced to withdraw in the darkness, having suffered some fifty-one casualties.<sup>29</sup> For the third time in thirty-six hours the 1st Brigade had been repulsed in its effort to break through towards Agira.

To the east of the town the 231st Brigade had for the second time secured positions across the highway, but, with the failure of the Canadian attack to the west, they were again forced to withdraw.<sup>30</sup>

Since July 22 the 2nd Canadian Infantry Brigade had remained in reserve in the vicinity of Leonforte and Assoro. The Edmonton Regiment had patrolled north toward Nicosia and had come in contact with the Americans, who were now swinging eastward and attacking parallel to the Canadian drive on Highway No. 121. About eleven enemy vehicles on the Nicosia-Agira road were disposed of by artillery supporting these patrols. They also overran an enemy outpost and captured ninety Italian prisoners.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q., Report no. 135.

<sup>29</sup>Account of Lieutenant-Colonel I. S. Johnston, 48 Highrs; War Diary, 48 Highrs, July 25-6. According to the verbal testimony of Mr. J. F. Wallace, who was a subaltern with the 12th Canadian Tank Regiment in Sicily, the attack of the 48th Highlanders was supported by tanks. Two troops gave covering fire from a hill north of Nissoria, while two others attempted to scale the enemy held heights north of the road. One troop claimed to have almost reached the summit before they were forced back.

<sup>30</sup>Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q., Report no. 135. Explaining the withdrawal, a Brigade account comments that "the forward positions were dominated by the heights of Agira and were untenable during daylight."

<sup>31</sup>War Diaries, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf Bde, P.P.C.L.I., Edmn R. and Seaforth of C., July 23-5; Account of Captain C. H. Pritchard, Edmn R. On the night of July 25 all the troops heard the news of Mussolini's fall, but it did not seem to have any immediate bearing on their operations.

NISSORIA—BREAKTHROUGH, JULY 26-7<sup>32</sup>

Early in the morning of July 26, General Simonds issued fresh orders for the capture of Agira. The 2nd Canadian Infantry Brigade were now to take over the attack and to pass through the 1st Brigade on that same evening. The operation was to be conducted in two stages. Initially one battalion under cover of an artillery barrage was to capture a "firm base" east of Nissoria. This was to include two objectives, the first called "Lion"—the fatal ridge that crossed the highway a mile east of Nissoria—and the second called "Tiger"—a still higher ridge a mile further to the east. On completion of this task a second battalion was to advance to the high ground immediately west of Agira, which dominated the approaches to the town and which was to be known as objective "Grizzly." The 231st Brigade were to supply the same infantry support as on the previous nights. The 1st Dorsets were to capture Mount Gianguzza, less than a mile southeast of Agira, from where they were to send a strong patrol to the road junction immediately east of the town, while the 1st Hampshires were to get astride the main road at a point about a mile further to the southeast.<sup>33</sup>

Brigadier C. Vokes, Commander of the 2nd Brigade,<sup>34</sup> ordered the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, supported by a squadron of tanks, to carry out the first phase of the attack, namely the capture of the two objectives, "Lion" and "Tiger." Five regiments of artillery (including one medium) and the Brigade Support Group's heavy mortars were to provide fire support, which included a carefully planned barrage, calculated to cover a period of approximately two hours. The Seaforth were to be prepared to advance to the third objective, "Grizzly," from an assembly area within one hour's march of "Tiger." Exploitation was to be supported by all available artillery.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup>See Map 2A.

<sup>33</sup>War Diary, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf Bde, July, Appx. 17, "The Battle for Agira" (an account given to the Divisional Historical Officer by Brig. C. Vokes), Appx. 18, a trace of the plan of attack on Agira, and Appx. 19, H.Q., R.C.A., Barrage Notes, July 26. The Zero Hour originally set for 6 P.M. was postponed to 8 P.M. in order to allow time to complete the elaborate barrage programme.

<sup>34</sup>The 1st Brigade Commander had given the 2nd Brigade Commander an account of the previous action and detailed information regarding the enemy's positions. The message comprises Appx. 14 of the 2nd Brigade War Diary for July. Cf. *post*, p. 19, n. 54.

<sup>35</sup>War Diary, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf Bde, July, Appendices 17, 18, and 19; War Diary, P.P.C.L.I., July, Appx. 18, "Nissoria," an account by Major R. C. Coleman. The initial artillery plan consisted of two minutes of intense, followed by fifteen minutes of normal, fire on the opening line just west of Nissoria by the guns of four field regiments, less two batteries. This was to be followed in turn by sixteen 100-yard lifts at three-minute intervals with a further five minutes on the last line. The barrage was to pause for twenty to thirty minutes after the first objective to give the reserve infantry compa-



Before the Princess Patricia's began to advance they were informed by the 48th Highlanders that objectives "Lion" and "Tiger" were strongly held by the enemy and that the Germans had even penetrated back into Nissoria itself. They could not, however, resist the persistent attacks of a whole division. Promptly at 8 P.M. the artillery opened fire in what proved to be the biggest and most successful shoot that the Canadian Division had yet attempted.<sup>36</sup> Seventeen minutes later the infantry crossed the "start line" on a two company front, following the barrage very closely. Despite enemy fire, they managed to keep up and seize their first objectives in short order. The company on the north of the road came under fire immediately the attack started, but only suffered nine casualties during the night, of which one was the company commander. The company on the south of the road advanced with less opposition, taking a number of prisoners, demoralized by the artillery fire.<sup>37</sup> The following extract from an account of the action by Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Lindsay, commanding the P.P.C.L.I., indicates the success of the assault:

... in half an hour both features were taken. Large numbers of the enemy were found on these features. In addition to prisoners taken, approximately 70 to 80, many more were killed. The Hun appeared to be dazed by the audacity of our attack. One German, in fact, who was taken prisoner, said that in all his experience as a soldier, which totaled more than six years and during which he fought on many fronts, he never saw the likes of our chaps for their tenacious fighting spirit in the face of heavy concentrated fire. Of the remaining Germans, it was found that the majority, by far, had been killed or wounded.<sup>38</sup>

Firing and patrolling continued throughout the night, but the enemy failed to counter-attack and the two companies, with their supporting tanks, remained on objective "Lion."<sup>39</sup>

The two supporting companies of P.P.C.L.I. unfortunately were lost in the darkness of the night and did not secure the second objective, "Tiger," before dawn. As a result the enemy were able to recover from the first demoralizing effects of the barrage and, from their positions on "Tiger," to deny the road east of Nissoria

nies time to come forward and prepare their advance to the second objective. Then it was to continue for five minutes on a new "start line" followed by twelve 100-yard lifts at three-minute intervals.

<sup>36</sup>According to the War Diary of the 3rd Canadian Field Regiment for July 26, "enemy prisoners captured after the attack stated that the barrage was so terrific and our infantry followed so closely behind that they had no alternative but to lay down their arms. They were shaken and demoralized."

<sup>37</sup>Accounts of Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Lindsay and Major R. C. Coleman, P.P.C.L.I.; War Diaries, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf Bde, July, Appx. 17, H.Q., R.C.A., 1 Cdn Div, 25 July (this entry should be under July 26) and 12 Cdn Tks, July 26.

<sup>38</sup>Account of Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.* and account of Major Coleman.

to the Canadian anti-tank guns and to the heavy weapons of the Brigade Support Group. Even so, a troop of tanks managed to get through just beyond the "Lion" objective, where they went into "hull down" positions on ground north of the road. This greatly strengthened the infantry's situation. The tanks lay low until daylight and as a result were able to spot and destroy German anti-tank and machine guns as soon as the latter gave away their location by fire.<sup>40</sup>

Brigade Headquarters were unable to obtain any clear picture of the situation while the battle lasted and did not know whether objective "Tiger" had been attained. Nevertheless, at about midnight, the Brigade Commander decided to commit the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada to the task of exploitation, in the hopes that aggressive action would clear up the situation. The Seaforth advanced through Nissoria and when beyond the town deployed on either side of the highway. In passing through objective "Lion" they came under fierce fire from enemy machine guns and tanks, which held them up for some time. Eventually one Seaforth company succeeded in eliminating the well concealed machine gun posts that were giving the most trouble. Anti-tank guns then came forward to deal with the enemy armour and, together with the Canadian tanks already on the spot, destroyed two or three German tanks. In the meantime the lead-company of infantry continued towards "Tiger" and assaulted the ridge under fire from flanking enemy machine gun posts and from tanks in "hull down" positions over the crest. As soon as they secured a footing, anti-tank guns and an artillery forward observation officer were quickly brought forward, followed by another company of infantry. By 11 A.M. on July 27 the Seaforth had consolidated objective "Tiger" and were in a good position to carry out the next phase of the operation, namely the attack on objective "Grizzly." The "Tiger" feature commanded the road towards Agira and the country to the north, giving the Canadian artillery, tanks, and infantry an excellent field of fire on the retreating Germans. As a result, between them they were able to destroy several more German vehicles and to wipe out groups of German infantry that were caught in the open.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>War Diaries, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf Bde, July, Appx. 17 and Seaforth of C., July 27.

<sup>41</sup>Account of the battle for Agira by Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hoffmeister, O.C. Seaforth of C.; Accounts of Brigadier Vokes and Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay; War Diary, Seaforth of C., July 27. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, the P.P.C.L.I. also participated in the final capture of "Tiger." Doubtless both battalions took part in the morning's fighting, but it would appear from the Brigade Commander's account that the Seaforth were chiefly responsible for obtaining this objective.



The 2nd Brigade's advance was greatly aided by a wide flanking movement, which a patrol from the Edmonton Regiment had executed on the previous night. By dawn on the morning of July 27 these Edmontoners had placed themselves astride the Agira-Nicosia road, about three miles northwest of the former town. Here they met and destroyed three enemy tanks and three or four other vehicles, machine-gunned their occupants, and set fire to a large oil and ammunition dump. The patrol, which was reinforced to company strength, remained in this position the rest of the day in order to prevent any enemy traffic between Agira and Nicosia.<sup>42</sup>

The 231st Brigade, for the third successive night, came down from their hills and crossed the road east of Agira, but once again in the morning they were forced to withdraw, since the Canadians had not yet reached the other side of the town.<sup>43</sup> However, the way was now clear for the final and successful attack on Agira from the west, and the 2nd Brigade were not long in exploiting their initial success in the vicinity of Nissoria.

#### THE FINAL CAPTURE OF AGIRA, JULY 28

Late in the morning of July 27 the Commander of the 2nd Brigade came forward to where the Seaforth were consolidating on "Tiger" and ordered the battalion to proceed to objective "Grizzly." This consisted of two separate hills, on either side of the road—to the south Mount Fronte, "square-topped" and open, to the north a more massive and wooded ridge. The latter had three separate peaks, the northern and most isolated of which was

<sup>42</sup>War Diary, Edmn R., 27 July; Accounts of Brigadier Vokes and Captain Pritchard. Major W. G. Bury, who was in charge of this operation, was awarded the Distinguished Service Order in recognition of his gallantry. According to the official Citation:

"By map, and compass, on this dark and moonless night, this officer unerringly led his men, cross country over the six mile stretch of rugged precipitous rock. Reaching the post at dawn Major Bury personally led the bayonet charge which captured the post. . . ."

Major Bury was killed the following day in the battle for Agira.

Another example of personal prowess will serve to illustrate the type of fighting that the Edmonton Regiment was experiencing and the efforts that it inspired among the troops. Either on this or on a similar occasion in the subsequent battle for Agira—the official citation is confused as to the exact occasion—a Corporal Cheshire was leading a section of Edmontoners up a difficult hill face when they came under German fire. According to the official citation:

"Cpl. Cheshire quickly appreciated the situation, disposed his section in a position from which it could give him covering fire and, heedless of his own safety, went on alone.

By skilful use of cover he got behind the feature, then scaled in the semi-darkness an almost vertical cliff of 50 feet in height, stalked his quarry, and with grenades, rifle and bayonet charged the post, killed six and captured six German prisoners."

He was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal for his achievement.

<sup>43</sup>Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q., Report no. 135.

called Mount Caprizza, while the southern end became known as Cemetery Hill. Agira itself as already noted, was built on the western slope of a still higher cone-shaped hill, lying astride the highway about half a mile further east. These features, it was later found out, were held by fresh troops from a battalion of the 15th Panzer Grenadier Regiment (from the 29th Panzer Grenadier Division). About midday Kittyhawks strafed and bombed enemy positions on the eastern extremity of objective "Grizzly," while medium bombers attacked Agira. From their vantage point on "Tiger" the Canadian infantry were able to observe the bursts of the bombs as they fell in the northern and western sections of the town.<sup>44</sup>

The Seaforth attack on "Grizzly" was further supported by the Divisional Artillery and by the fire of machine gun and armoured units. Leading troops of the battalion crossed the start line at 2 P.M., advancing with one company forward on each side of the road. "A" company on the south came under heavy fire on approaching the objective. Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Hoffmeister, commanding the Seaforth, has described the subsequent actions of this company as follows:

The company commander, Major Bell-Irving, however, had his company well in hand and by building up heavy fire support was able to extricate a platoon that had been pinned down by enemy fire. He appreciated that the feature could not be captured by a frontal assault and decided to do a right flanking movement, scaling the cliff at the southern extremity of the feature. By making the best possible use of the ground the leading platoon of this company was able to approach this point under cover and scale the cliff, taking the enemy completely by surprise and establishing a foothold on the feature. . . . They now came under terrific M.M.G. and mortar fire from high ground on the same feature overlooking their position. They held on, however, and fought their way forward by fire movement and plenty of guts until they had gained the small rise that overlooked their former position. They then consolidated and resisted repeated enemy counter-attacks during the night until reinforced by "C" company early in the morning. During this time they were under constant mortar fire by heavy enemy mortars and were also shelled by our own artillery during the shelling of Agira. Following the arrival of "C" company Major Bell-Irving decided to attack and succeeded in capturing the entire feature, killing many of the defenders and routing the rest. The position was then consolidated and reinforced by "B" company.

. . . In spite of tremendous odds against them Major Bell-Irving and his men [had] completely surprised the enemy and routed them. The defeat becomes all the more remarkable when one considers the casualties sustained by both sides as shown below:

"A" Company—	2 killed,	5 wounded,
Enemy	—75 killed,	wounded unknown,
	prisoners, one officer,	14 O.Rs.

<sup>44</sup>Accounts of Brigadier Vokes and Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffmeister; G.S.G.S. Map, Italy 1: 50,000, Sheet 269—IV.

The Hun had, in fact, fled in complete disorder, literally and actually screaming in terror. We followed them up with hand grenades and played particular hell with them.<sup>45</sup>

The company of the Seaforth attacking on the northern side of the road had also come under heavy enemy fire and for some time had been out of communication with battalion headquarters. Deciding that the northern end of "Grizzly" was too strongly held to be captured by one company, the battalion commander later ordered them to withdraw in order to concentrate all the efforts of the battalion on the southern end of "Grizzly" as described in the account quoted above.<sup>46</sup>

Realizing the need for a stronger attack on the northern sector of "Grizzly," the Brigade Commander now ordered the Edmonton Regiment to attack at this point, under cover of a Divisional Artillery concentration. During the day, the Edmontons had moved forward to positions a few miles west of Agira. In accordance with the Brigadier's orders, the battalion moved off at 8 P.M. and proceeded to swing wide to the left through hill country in order to outflank the enemy and attack the objective from the north. Progress in the dark was slow, since the route was difficult and their maps proved inadequate. As a result the battalion did not reach the point from which it was intended to launch the attack until several hours after the artillery concentration had been completed.<sup>47</sup>

One company was now directed against Mount Caprlizza and two others against Cemetery Hill about half a mile further south. The latter companies attempted to scale the northern slopes of their objective, but these proved to be very steep and exposed to withering enemy fire. One section was sent around to the right in an endeavour to approach the Germans from the rear, but for the time being the main attack had slowed down. Casualties were heavy, including one company commander killed and another wounded. Presently fire from the rear of the German positions indicated that the flanking section had succeeded in its encircling

<sup>45</sup>Account of Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffmeister; further information regarding this action is to be found in War Diary, Seaforth of C., July 27 and Appx. 27, which contains a detailed account entitled "The Battle of Grizzly Hill."

The reader will realize that such an account as the one quoted above, while on the whole of obvious value, must be taken with some reservation, since it is clearly tinged with the enthusiasm of the victor. The high number of enemy dead is perhaps to be explained by the absence of German bodies on "Lion" or "Tiger." Presumably casualties from the earlier fighting had been evacuated as far as "Grizzly," thus swelling the numbers found there. (Verbal evidence of Mr. J. F. Wallace.)

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>Account of battle for Agira by Captain C. H. Pritchard. The exact timing is not clear.

movement. Another officer now took charge of the company whose commander had been killed and led the survivors in a final assault up the cliff. Thanks to the harassing tactics of the section in the rear, the summit of the hill was reached and captured despite the apparently greater numerical strength of the Germans. According to the regimental account, the latter finally broke their lines and fled into the town in disorganized retreat.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, the company attacking Mount Caprlizza had attained its objective without opposition and from here they engaged the enemy who were fleeing from Cemetery Hill and inflicted further casualties on them. This company then sent a patrol into Agira, which captured seventeen German and four Italian soldiers who were hiding in a house in the outskirts of the town. The patrol then successfully withdrew with these prisoners under heavy fire.<sup>49</sup>

A squadron of the 12th Canadian Tank Regiment had attacked with the 2nd Brigade on July 27, penetrating the enemy lines between the Seaforth and Edmonton areas. They succeeded in inflicting some casualties on the enemy, but do not appear to have greatly influenced the course of the battle.<sup>50</sup>

To the east of Agira the 231st Brigade carried out their now familiar manoeuvre for the fourth successive night. This time they were able to stay, and during the morning they began consolidating a "firm base" across the road in preparation for an advance eastward toward the next town of Regalbuto. Opposition was encountered on Mount Campanelli north of the road, but this was cleared up with the aid of artillery and a squadron of Canadian tanks.<sup>51</sup>

The P.P.C.L.I. were entrusted with the final assault on the town of Agira on the afternoon of July 28. A preliminary bombardment by the Divisional Artillery was cancelled at the last moment as a result of a report that the town appeared to have been evacuated. Shortly afterwards Patricia patrols entered the town and met with no opposition. The balance of the two leading companies followed at about 2.30 p.m. and received a marked ovation from the inhabitants on the outskirts of the place. Yet they had no sooner entered than pockets of enemy resistance appeared and brisk fighting ensued. The two companies divided the town between them and proceeded to clear it systematically

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.* This account claims that the hill was taken by only forty Canadians opposed by approximately 150 of the enemy.

<sup>49</sup>Accounts of Brigadier Vokes and Captain Pritchard.

<sup>50</sup>War Diary, 12 Cdn Tks; the entry appears under the dateline July 26, but from the context it appears to refer to the attack on "Grizzly" carried out on July 27.

<sup>51</sup>Historical Officer, C.M.H.Q., Report no. 135.

of snipers, a task in which they were greatly assisted by a squadron of tanks. The squadron on the right ran into opposition half way up the hill and spent two hours in fairly stiff house to house fighting, but eventually eliminated all the enemy in their way, by outflanking tactics and by making good use of smoke bombs and grenades.<sup>52</sup>

The company on the left advanced slowly, methodically clearing out those houses that the Germans were holding as machine gun posts. Finally they reached a cliff, which formed the summit of the hill on which the town was built. This was covered by enemy fire and presented a formidable obstacle to further progress, but with the arrival of reinforcements it was eventually taken. By nightfall the Princess Patricia's had consolidated on top of the hill and were able to claim possession of the town. Estimates of enemy losses in killed and captured varied from eighty to 210, but the P.P.C.L.I. only suffered a dozen casualties.<sup>53</sup>

So Agira was finally taken after five days of hard fighting in which the whole Division, except for the 3rd Brigade, had been engaged. It had been hoped to take the town more quickly for the speedy advance from July 10 to 18 had made it appear that the enemy had no intention of making a sustained stand. At Leonforte and Assoro, Nissoria and Agira, however, it was a different story. Here the Germans were fighting their hardest and using their slender resources to the utmost to stave off further Allied advances. Although inferior in numbers they were greatly aided by the terrain and were invariably able to take up defensive positions on high ground, which always forced the Canadians to make up-hill attacks. Moreover, the Germans made skilful use of the ground, siting their positions on reverse slopes in order to reduce the effect of the Canadian artillery fire, and switching them from one slope to another to confuse their adversaries further.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup>War Diary, P.P.C.L.I., July 28 and Appx. 20, "Street Fighting in Agira"; Account of Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay; War Diary, 12 Cdn Tks, July 27 (that is, 28).

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.* According to the War Diary, total enemy losses amounted to eighty. Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay's account on the other hand refers to sixty enemy killed and 150 prisoners taken. The Divisional Intelligence Staff, in reference to the action at Agira, put the German losses at "approximately 125 P.W." and the "same number killed," but these figures presumably included the preliminary fighting on "Grizzly."

<sup>54</sup>War Diary, H.Q., 2 Cdn Inf Bde, Appx. 14, a written message from Brigadier Graham to Brigadier Vokes, July 26. Commenting on German tactics in front of Nissoria Brigadier Graham wrote:

"Patrols . . . indicate that enemy positions are further east than was at first thought—although they saw movement from one position to another indicating that at one time they may have m.g.'s on one slope and then move to another. Dug in tanks and A Tk guns are in vicinity of the road. . . . Col. Johnston attacked from the left. . . . His experience was that the enemy were in positions on reverse slopes and the artillery concentrations on the forward slopes and top did not damage the enemy too much. . . ."

The rugged nature of the country likewise made it impossible for General Simonds to deploy the whole Division for battle at any one place, as for instance was done later in the Liri Valley in Italy, where all nine infantry battalions fought in one day's action against the "Hitler Line." The Sicilian campaign consisted of a series of brigade "shows," and usually the brigade in action only committed one battalion at a time, but it may be noted that the 2nd Brigade brought the drawn out battle for Agira to a close by using more than one battalion at the critical moments. Thus the Seaforth were sent into action while the Patricia's were still fighting east of Nissoria and on the following day the Edmontons were directed against the northern end of "Grizzly" as soon as it was realized that this task was too big for the Seaforth alone. The breaking of the backbone of German resistance on "Grizzly" enabled the P.P.C.L.I. to clear the town of Agira by themselves on July 28. Throughout the operation the 231st (Malta) Brigade had taken the 3rd Canadian Infantry Brigade's place in the Canadian Division,<sup>55</sup> but its role was secondary to that of the 1st and 2nd Canadian Brigades. The main attack was made on the western approaches of the town, which were not as steep as the eastern ones; moreover, the artillery was deployed so as to support an attack from the west.

Agira was taken at some cost to the Canadians, but in proportion the Germans had to pay a much higher price. Canadian casualties in the five days' fighting, July 24 to 28 (which include those suffered by the 3rd Brigade) were reported as 40 officers and 531 other ranks; 229 all ranks were killed or missing.<sup>56</sup> During the same period it was estimated that the German force defending Agira lost some 325 killed and over 250 as prisoners of war.<sup>57</sup> The Divisional Intelligence Staff calculated that the Regiment that had borne the brunt of the attack since Leonforte had ceased to be a cohesive force except for one battalion under half strength, which had been temporarily withdrawn from action. This Intelligence report further noted that: "For the first time the Germans were fleeing from their MG positions leaving thousands of rounds of belted ammunition beside the guns. One abandoned MG nest had 3 LMGs and 1 MMG the barrel of which had never

<sup>55</sup>The 3rd Brigade was operating in the Dittaino valley during this period. On July 29 it passed to the command of the British 78th Division and on July 30 it captured the town of Catenanuova about eleven miles south-east of Agira.

<sup>56</sup>War Diary, A.A. & Q.M.G., Rear H.Q., 1 Cdn Inf Div, July 25-9.

<sup>57</sup>An Intelligence report in the Historical Section files. The A.A. & Q.M.G. War Diary recorded a total of 691 prisoners of war for the five days, including those taken by the 3rd Brigade. Two hundred and sixty were Italians.

had a round fired through it."<sup>58</sup>

On the same day that Agira had fallen to the Canadians the 1st United States Division had concluded another prolonged battle with the capture of Nicosia, eight miles to the north of Leonforte. Three days later the 45th United States Division captured San Stefano on the coast, seventeen miles north of Nicosia. By August 1 nine<sup>59</sup> Allied infantry divisions were pressing forward on a semi-circular front of some sixty-five miles in length, squeezing the bulk of the German force against Mount Etna's unrelenting shoulders. Seventeen more days of stiff fighting through the most mountainous part of Sicily finally brought the campaign to an end with the occupation of Messina by the 3rd United States Division, early on the morning of August 18.<sup>60</sup>

The 1st Canadian Infantry Division had played its part up to the fall of Adrano on August 8, at which point it was withdrawn from action to prepare for the invasion of the Italian mainland. Its drive eastward from Leonforte, which had routed the enemy from his strongholds in front of Agira, had been an essential preliminary to the final onslaught on the German citadel in north-eastern Sicily.

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<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>The Seventh Army operating on but two roads, leap-frogged its four divisions, keeping two forward at a time.

<sup>60</sup>See Alexander despatch, "Conquest of Sicily."



## THE ALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE UNITED PROVINCE OF CANADA, 1854-64

RECENT scholarship in Canadian history has shown considerable interest in the "Clear Grit" movement in Canada West in the eighteen-fifties and sixties. The research has led to a general understanding of the viewpoints of the principal figures, and to some extent has related sectional and economic aspirations of the people of the province to political movements. It is felt that an examination of the evidence of the voting of members in the Legislative Assembly, and an appreciation of the results of successive elections in the constituencies may now place the ingredients of the political scene in perspective. In a sense, a "quantitative" analysis of the political history of the United Province of Canada is needed to give proportion to the "qualitative" treatment which is in progress. The political life of the country proceeded through the interplay of political parties and organizations, whose ultimate goal was the securing of a majority in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, which was the only legal representative of the will of the citizens of the province. An examination of the composition of the Legislative Assembly, and a study of the shifts in alignment of political groups in that House might be expected to yield some definite conclusions regarding the distribution of political power in the province. This study endeavours to analyse the forces operating in the Legislative Assembly, circumscribed by the limits imposed by the franchise, the electoral law, and the constitution of that day. The cumulative evidence of the voting of individual members in the House has been used to identify the political affiliation of the representatives, and the conclusions reached are here presented in a series of maps which represent the Upper Canadian political scene at the close of the general elections in 1854, 1857-8, 1861, and 1863. Two additional maps (9 and 10) consolidate the material in the previous maps in order to show the tendencies of ridings to maintain their political complexion, or to change. Although by-elections are not specifically dealt with in this article, their evidence has been used.

If the members of the Legislative Assembly had acted as completely independent individuals constantly shifting their grouping and alignment as the business of the House progressed, this enquiry might have proved too complicated to be useful. It cannot be lightly presumed, on the other hand, that political



parties were well-disciplined machines which operated with equal effectiveness at all times throughout this period. There was still a large measure of looseness in the affiliation of members of the legislature who continued to be at the mercy of the particular local aspirations of their ridings. But in fact the existence of political parties provided sufficient adhesion to draw members into fairly consistent groups. And even beyond the level of party strife, the conventions of parliamentary life patterned on those devised at Westminster produced a polarity in the alignment of political parties and individual members in the House. This force of polarity drew the vast majority of those in the legislature into support of, or opposition to, the administration in office, and operated clearly throughout the period in the principal division which made and broke ministries.

## I

The Fourth Parliament of the United Province of Canada (1851-4) met for the last time in June, 1854. The several divisions that were called during this short session disclosed that the Hincks-Morin Ministry did not possess the confidence of the Legislative Assembly. An analysis of the composition of the House shows that the administration was supported by twenty<sup>1</sup> members from Canada East and but nine<sup>2</sup> from Canada West. The opposition appears to have been composed of at least three groups—eighteen<sup>3</sup> Tories and nine<sup>4</sup> radical Reformers from Canada West, together with eighteen<sup>5</sup> representatives from Canada East. Thus, while the Ministry commanded a majority of the representatives from Lower Canada, it was supported by but a quarter of those from the upper section of the province. The two strongest groups in the House were the Lower Canadian Reformers and the Upper Canadian Tories; together they commanded a majority of the members in attendance though they could not control a majority of the eighty-three<sup>6</sup> seats without some additional adherents. It

<sup>1</sup>Cartier, Chabot, Chapais, Chauveau, Drummond, Dumolins, Egan, Fortier, Fournier, Galt, Laurin, Lemieux, Mongenais, Morin, Paige, Poulin, Sanborn, Taché, Turcotte, Varin.

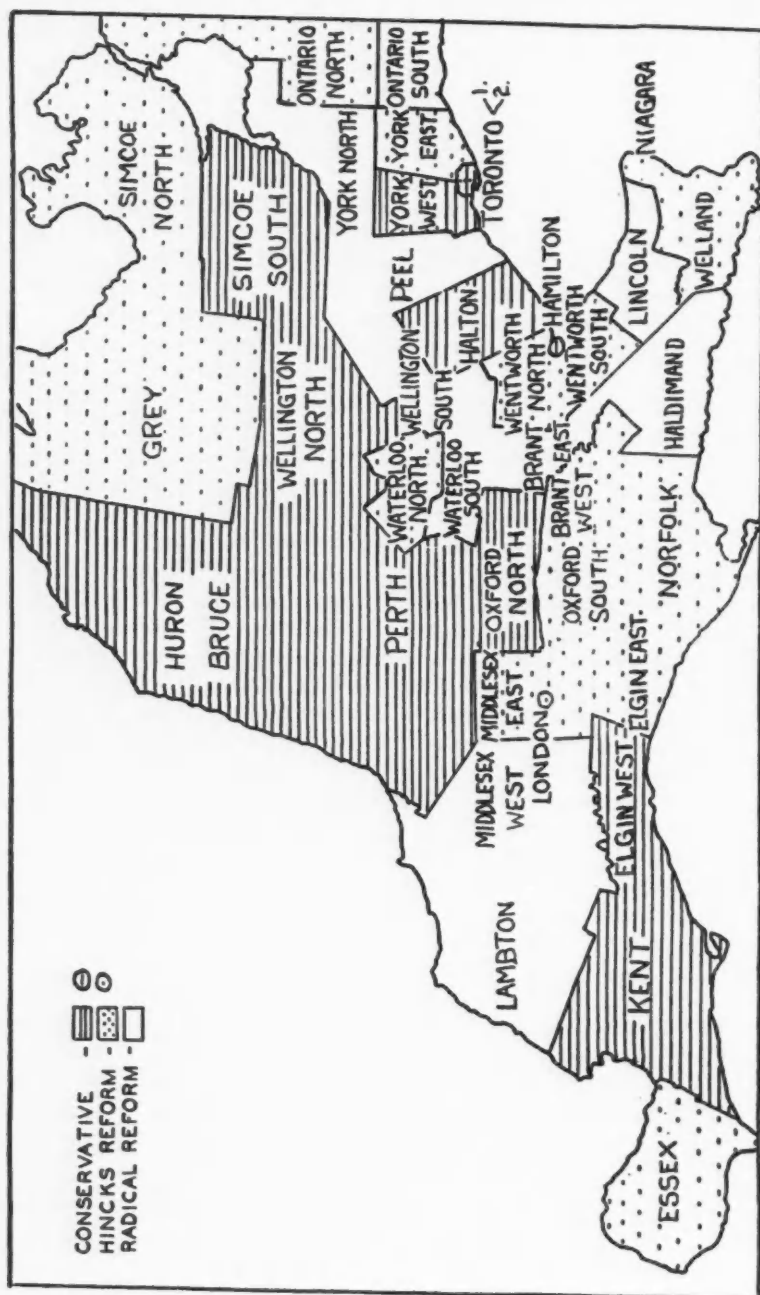
<sup>2</sup>M. Cameron, Delong, Hincks, Morrison, Patrick, Prince, Rolph, J. Smith, A. Wright.

<sup>3</sup>Burnham, Crawford, Dixon, Gamble, Lyon, J. A. Macdonald, MacNab, Malloch, Murney, Ridout, W. B. Robinson, Seymour, Shaw, H. Sherwood, Stevenson, Street, Willson, G. Wright (Langton?).

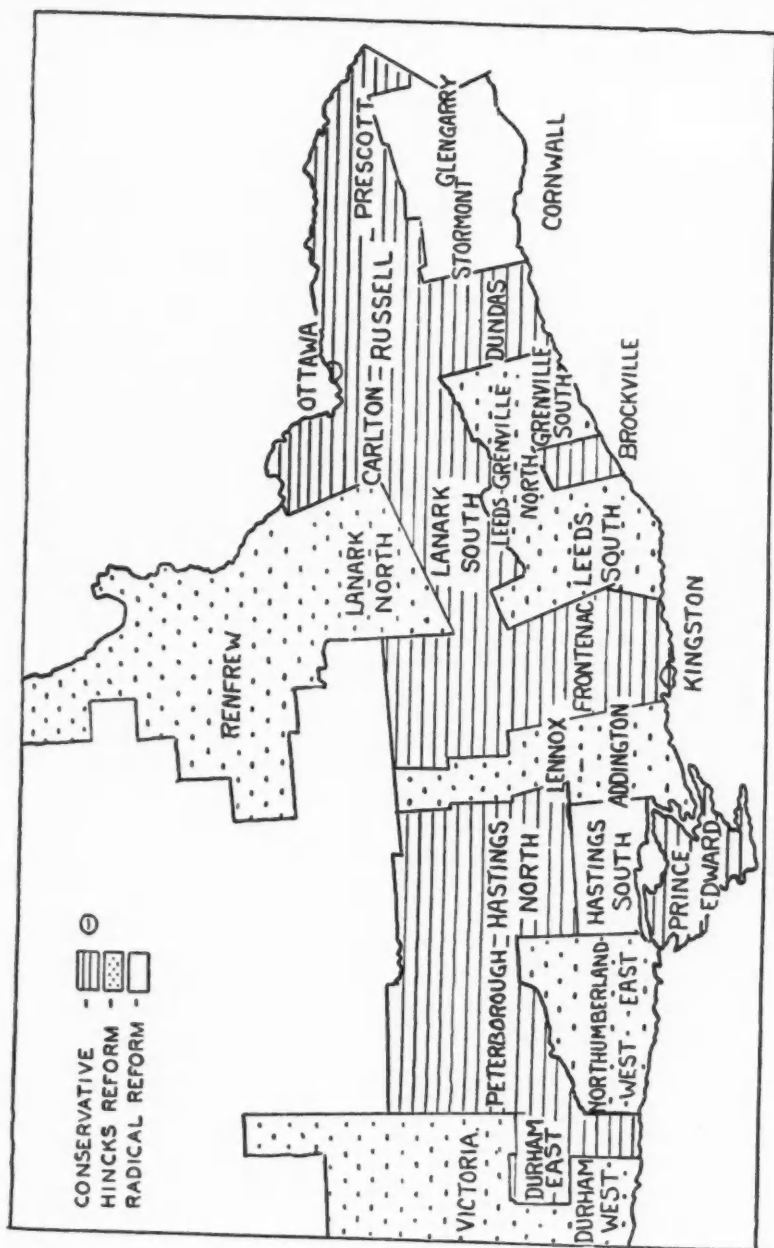
<sup>4</sup>Brown, Fergusson, Hartman, R. McDonald, W. L. Mackenzie, Mattice, J. W. Rose, White, Langton (?).

<sup>5</sup>Jobin, Laterrier, Marchildon, L. J. Papineau, Polette, Sicotte, Valois, Young, (Rouge?) Badgley, Cauchon, Clapham, Dubord, Gouin, Lacoste, Leblanc, McDougall, Stewart, Tessier.

<sup>6</sup>The eighty-fourth member was Speaker. Nine members did not attend this session.



MAP 1. Western part of Canada West; general election, 1854. fii



MAP 2. Eastern part of Canada West; general election, 1854.

may have been clear, thus early, to the architects of the Liberal-Conservative coalition of October, 1854, that a ministry supported by French-Canadian Reformers and English-Canadian Tory-Conservatives could secure at least four additional voices and command a majority of the House. In any case the Hincks-Morin Ministry found itself in a minority of fourteen and wisely opted for a general election.

The elections in the late summer of 1854, which elected the Fifth Parliament, far from redressing the balance in favour of the Reform Ministry, confirmed the alignment of forces which had obtained at the close of the Fourth Parliament. This 1854 general election was the first conducted on a basis of the new enlarged representation of 130, where sixty-five members would constitute a majority in the Legislative Assembly. The Lower-Canadian Ministerial Reformers returned a clear majority of the members from that section with thirty-five seats,<sup>7</sup> and also received the support of the Independents—Galt, Huot, and Sanborn. The Lower-Canadian opposition included nineteen Radical Reformers<sup>8</sup> together with Cauchon, Somerville, and five<sup>9</sup> other Independents. The Hincksite Reformers had received a slight reinforcement in Canada West and numbered twenty-five<sup>10</sup> in support of the Ministry, but were opposed on one side by twenty-six<sup>11</sup> Tories and on the other by fourteen<sup>12</sup> Radical Reformers. The inability of the Hincks-Morin Ministry to command a majority of the Legislative Assembly was quickly demonstrated on September 5, 1854, when its nominee for speaker was rejected, and L. V. Sicotte from the Lower-Canadian section of the Opposition was chosen. J. B. E. Dorion on behalf of the Opposition seized the initiative in ordering the business of the House by diverting the debate to the consideration of the alleged illegality of the recent election in Bagot. It

<sup>7</sup>Alleyn, Bellingham, Blanchet, Brodeur, Cartier, Chabot, Chapais, Chauvean, J. B. Daoust, Desaulniers, Dionne, Drummond, Egan, Felton, T. Fortier, Fournier, Gill, Labelle, Laporté, J. Leboutillier, Lemieux, Loranger, Masson, Meagher, Mongenais, A. N. Morin, Poulin, Pouliot, Rhodes, D. Ross, Taché, Terrill, Thibaudeau, Turcotte, Whitney.

<sup>8</sup>Bourassa, Bureau, Cooke, C. Daoust, Darche, Dewitt, A. A. Dorion, J. B. E. Dorion, Dostaler, J. Dufresne, Guevremont, Holton, Jobin, Laberge, Marchildon, Papin, G. M. Prévost, Valois, Young.

<sup>9</sup>Casault, Ferres, Jobin, O'Farrell, Polette. L. V. Sicotte was Speaker.

<sup>10</sup>Bell, H. Biggar, Church, Delong, Gould, Hincks, Jackson, A. Morrison, J. C. Morrison, Munro, Niles, Patrick, Rankin, Roblin, J. Ross, J. Smith, S. Smith, Southwick, Spence, Foley, Frazer, Freeman, Rolph, Wilson, A. Wright.

<sup>11</sup>Bowes, Burton, J. H. Cameron, Cayley, Chisholm, Clarke, Cook, Crawford, Crysler, Daly, Gamble, Langton, Larwill, Lyon, MacBeth, McCann, J. A. Macdonald, MacNab, Matheson, Murney, W. F. Powell, W. B. Robinson, Shaw, H. Smith, Stevenson, Yielding.

<sup>12</sup>Aikins, Brown, Fergusson, Ferrie, Flint, Hartman, Lumsden, J. S. Macdonald, R. McDonald, W. L. MacKenzie, McKerlie, Mattice, Merritt, J. Scatcherd.

was clear that the Hincks-Morin Government must resign, but the three-way division of the representatives from Canada West rendered the exact composition of a new ministry a matter of some doubt. If the Radical Reformers could have been reunited with the Ministerial Reformers, the government would have commanded thirty-nine Upper Canadian seats, but this was unlikely since it was this cleavage in Reform ranks which underlay the ministerial crisis. The basis for the actual solution of the *impasse* was a ministry based upon the support of the two most numerous groups in the House; thirty-five Bleus and twenty-six Tory-Conservatives. To command a majority of the legislature, at least four additional supporters were required. In the event, the necessary increment was found from among the Hincksite Reformers of Canada West, of whom nineteen gave initial support to the newly-formed MacNab-Morin Ministry, while the remaining six<sup>13</sup> immediately crossed into opposition. In the early trials of strength, the new Liberal-Conservative Government secured the adhesion of Cauchon, Somerville, and the previously mentioned group of five independents, but lost the support of Galt, Huot, and Sanborn. Although the succeeding sessions of the Fifth Parliament presented much the same alignment of political groups, several additional Hincksite Reformers, including Bell, Gould, Munro, and Patrick, drifted into opposition to the MacNab-Morin Ministry.

There was a minor crisis in the history of the Fifth Parliament in late May, 1856, when the executive portion of the government was reconstructed excluding MacNab and Drummond. A confidence vote on May 30, 1856 sustained the reconstructed Ministry by the very slim majority of four votes. On this occasion the ministerial adherents from Canada East maintained their support, while in Canada West there was a secession of fourteen members.<sup>14</sup> During the remaining life of the Fifth Parliament, the Liberal-Conservative Ministry avoided fundamental trials of strength in the House, yet it appears that the permanent loss of government support in May, 1856 was but five seats. H. Biggar and J. Ross, who had been Hincksite Reformers, now joined the Radical Reformers in opposition, while Delong, a Hincksite Reformer, and Gamble and Murney, MacNab Tories, went into an independent opposition.

<sup>13</sup>Foley, Frazer, Freeman, Rolph, Wilson, A. Wright.

<sup>14</sup>Cook, Jackson, MacNab, Matheson, W. F. Powell, Niles, Rankin, J. Smith, Southwick (Temporarily opposed); Biggar, J. Ross, Delong, Gamble, Murney (into Opposition).

The election of the Fifth Parliament in 1854 had been the occasion for the final breakdown of the Old Reform party constructed by Baldwin and Lafontaine. This collapse was due to a division in Reform ranks in Canada West. Of the thirty-nine Reformers of all shades of opinion elected in 1854, nineteen had given initial support to the new Liberal-Conservative Executive. But of these nineteen, an additional seven withdrew from its support by 1857. In longer perspective, the 1854 election has been acknowledged to be a watershed in the evolving techniques of constructing Canadian ministries. Prior to this time an alignment of the French-Canadian bloc from Canada East with the Moderate Reformers from the "left-centre" of the representation from Canada West had formed the basis for the ministries from 1848 on. It was in September, 1854 that this arrangement was disrupted, and thereafter the alignment of French-Canadian Nationalists with the Tory-Conservative group from the "right" of the representation of Canada West became the nominal basis of strength for succeeding ministries. This combination of a French-Canadian bloc from Canada East and later Quebec, with Conservative forces from other portions of Canada was normally the basis of government strength down to 1896.

The 1857 dissolution was not, apparently, occasioned by crisis, but was the normal appeal to the electorate at the close of four years for a new mandate. In most ridings of Canada West the 1857-8 elections were two-sided contests between a "Ministerialist" and a "non-Ministerialist." The name "Reformer" meaning an adherent of the principles of the old Baldwin-Lafontaine party, was still worn by some candidates, but while this usage may have had local significance in some ridings, it seems to have had no functional meaning in Parliament. Of the nineteen Hincksite Reformers who had initially supported the MacNab-Morin Government in 1854, eight were re-elected to the Sixth Parliament in 1857-8. Of these eight, A. Morrison, Roblin, and Sydney Smith alone supported the Macdonald-Cartier Ministry in 1858, while R. Bell, H. Biggar, Gould, Munro, and Patrick adhered to the Reformers in Opposition. For a functional interpretation of the situation, it seems possible to conclude that the general election in 1857-8 marks the return to a "two-party" political structure in Canada West. It was at this period that Brown had re-knit the bonds of the several Reform groups into one effective entity in the Reform Alliance. Malcolm Cameron alone appears to have pursued a course which did not yield significantly to supporting either pole of political action.

The general election of 1857-8 changed the proportions of the several political entities in the Legislative Assembly. In Canada East the Bleu party, controlled by Cartier, registered a distinct victory and returned forty-nine<sup>15</sup> members. The sixteen other members returned by Canada East might be divided into nine<sup>16</sup> Rouges and seven<sup>17</sup> "Liberal independents." In Canada West the victory in 1857-8 lay with the (anti-Ministerial) Reformers who returned thirty-three<sup>18</sup> adherents while only twenty-eight<sup>19</sup> Conservatives supported the Government. From the opening of the session in 1858, the J. A. Macdonald-Cartier Ministry remained in power without the support of a majority in both sections of the province.

Having secured their position within their section of the province in 1857-8, the reconstructed Reformers, under the leadership of Brown, embarked on a programme of energetic advocacy of their principles. "Representation by Population" has been correctly identified as the keynote in their attack. The principle was not new, for it had been divided upon at intervals in the past, but the sanction of the backing of the majority of the members from Canada West now gave it outstanding importance. The early sessions of the Sixth Parliament are rich with examples of propositions advocated by the Reformers, often expressing a Protestant and Western Canadian sectional point of view. The Rouge members were able to support many of the Reformers' ideas, but could not follow the lead in a Protestant or anti-French direction.

While the sessions of the Sixth Parliament (1857-61) present much that bears upon political viewpoints, they yield but one major episode in the history of party alignment. This occasion

<sup>15</sup>Alleyn, Archambault, Baby, Beaubien, Bellingham, Campbell, L. B. Caron, Cartier, Chapais, Cimon, Coutlee, J. B. Daoust, Dawson, Desaulniers, Dionne, Dubord, Dufresne, Dunkin, Ferres, Fortier, Fournier, Galt, Gaudet, Gauvreau, Gill, Harwood, Heath, Labelle, Lacoste, Langevin, Laporté, Leboutillier, Loranger, Meagher, Morin, Ouimet, Panet, Pope, Price, J. Rose, Sicotte, Simard, Sincennes, Starnes, Tassé, Terrill, Turcotte, Webb, Whitney.

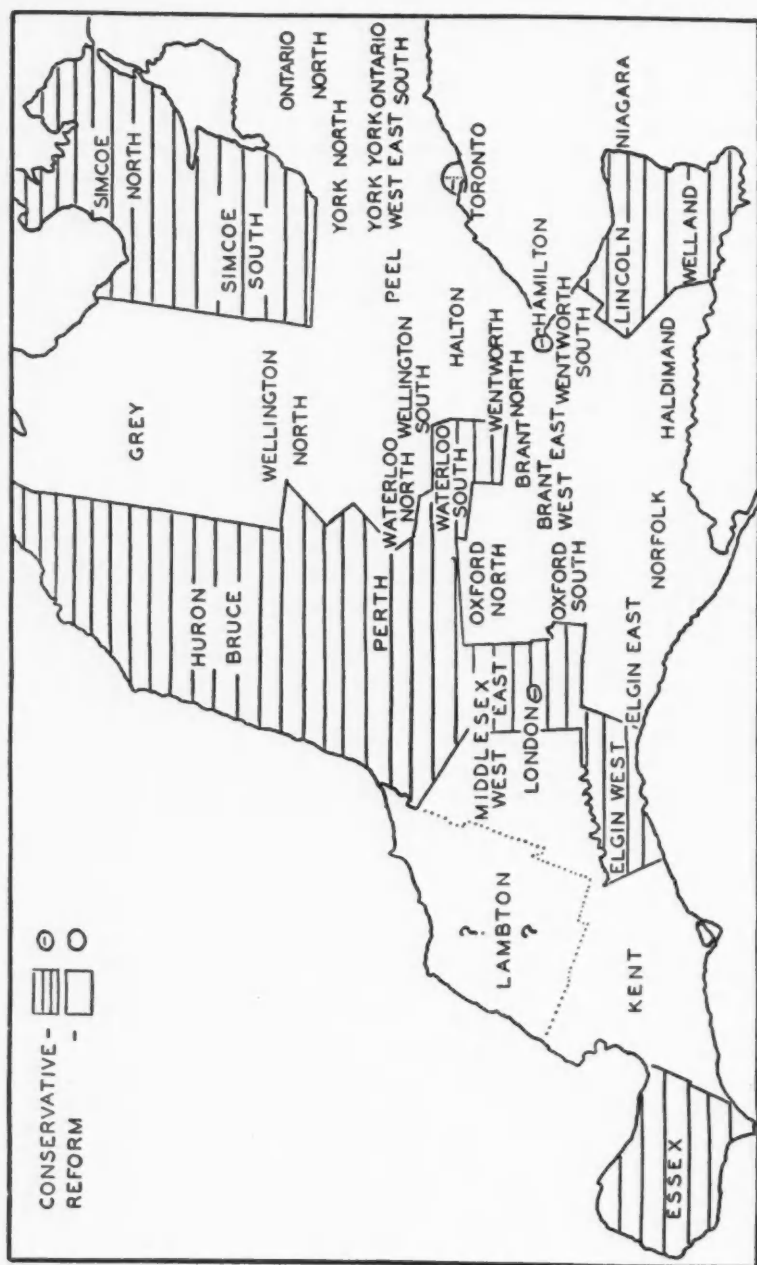
<sup>16</sup>Bourassa, Bureau, A. A. Dorion, Hébert, Jobin, Laframboise, McGee, D. E. Papineau, Piché.

<sup>17</sup>Cauchon, Drummond, Laberge, Lemieux, D. Ross, Somerville, Thibaudeau.

<sup>18</sup>Aikins, Bell, H. Biggar, Brown, Burwell, Christie, Cook, Clark, Connor, Dorland, Foley, Gould, Howland, Holmes, D. A. Macdonald, J. S. Macdonald, McDougall, McKellar, W. L. MacKenzie, Mattice, Merritt, Mowat, Munro, Notman, Patrick, W. Powell, Rymal, J. Scatcherd, Short, Stirton, Wallbridge, White, Wright. Allan left the House before August 1858. Hogan was an independent Reformer.

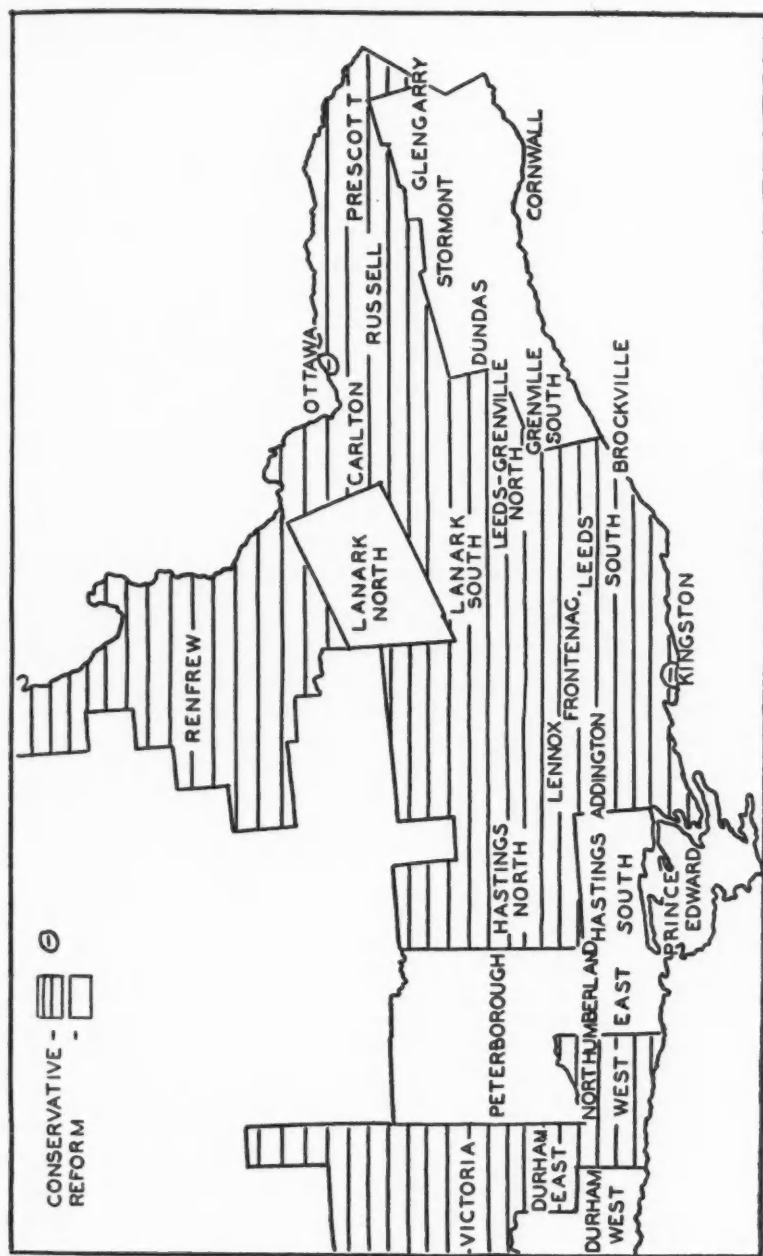
<sup>19</sup>Benjamin, Buchanan, Burton, J. Cameron, M. Cameron, Carling, Cayley, Daly, Fellows, Ferguson, Gowan, MacBeth, McCann, J. A. Macdonald, MacLeod, McMicken, A. Morrison, Playfair, W. F. Powell, J. B. Robinson, Roblin, R. W. Scott, W. Scott, Sherwood, Simpson, S. Smith, Talbot, Tett. H. Smith, a Conservative, was Speaker. Oxford North was not represented.





Map 3. Western part of Canada West; general election, 1857-8.





MAP 4. Eastern part of Canada West; general election, 1857-8.

was in early August, 1858 when Brown and A. A. Dorion attempted to form a ministry. The J. A. Macdonald-Cartier Government was upset by a division in the House on July 28, 1858 concerning the establishment of a permanent provincial capital at Ottawa. This question had appeared first on October 5, 1842 and had been resolved eventually by moving the capital from Kingston to Montreal. In the latter resurgence of the controversy there were divisions upon the subject in 1857 at the end of the Fifth Parliament, as well as prior to July in the 1858 session. In the spring stages of the session of 1859 there was yet another vote upon the question. It is possible, then, to study the controversy over choosing a permanent capital over a long period, and to note that whenever it was debated it occasioned a disintegration of parties and groups into fragments which upheld the aspirations of their own geographic section. On July 28, 1858 in the vital division, no group in the House voted unanimously on one side or other of the question. The direct cause of the Government's defeat on this occasion was the large-scale desertion of the Government policy favouring Ottawa by twenty-two members from the Bleu party. A further group of seven Lower Canadian "Liberal Independents," who have been mentioned above, and who had been out of step with the Ministry on at least one issue earlier in the session, now divided against Ottawa, and provided Drummond, Lemieux, and Thibaudeau from among their number in the new Brown-Dorion Ministry. Although the Liberal-Conservative Government had sustained a defeat on July 28, 1858 in the House, it would appear that, the Liberal-Independents excepted, the former alignment of parties still remained unaltered on all questions other than that of Ottawa.

On August 2, the day the Brown-Dorion administration was formed, there was a division on the question of confidence in the new Executive Council. On this occasion none of the twenty-two Bleu members who had left their party over the Ottawa question gave their confidence to the Brown-Dorion Government. An analysis of the behaviour of individual members seems to show conclusively that the Reform administration would have been in a minority of twenty-two (fifty to seventy-seven) if all members, including the new ministers, had been in attendance in the House. Further, if the Liberal-Conservative ministers had avoided the "double-shuffle" and returned to their ridings for re-election, the remaining members would seem to have been aligned: sixty-nine Liberal-Conservatives opposed to forty-two Reformers, Rouges, and Independents. The Ottawa question was raised again, as has

been indicated above, on February 10, 1859, but failed to unseat the Cartier-J. A. Macdonald Ministry. On this latter occasion, nine Bleu members of the twenty-two who had opposed Ottawa on July 28, 1858 now voted in its favour.

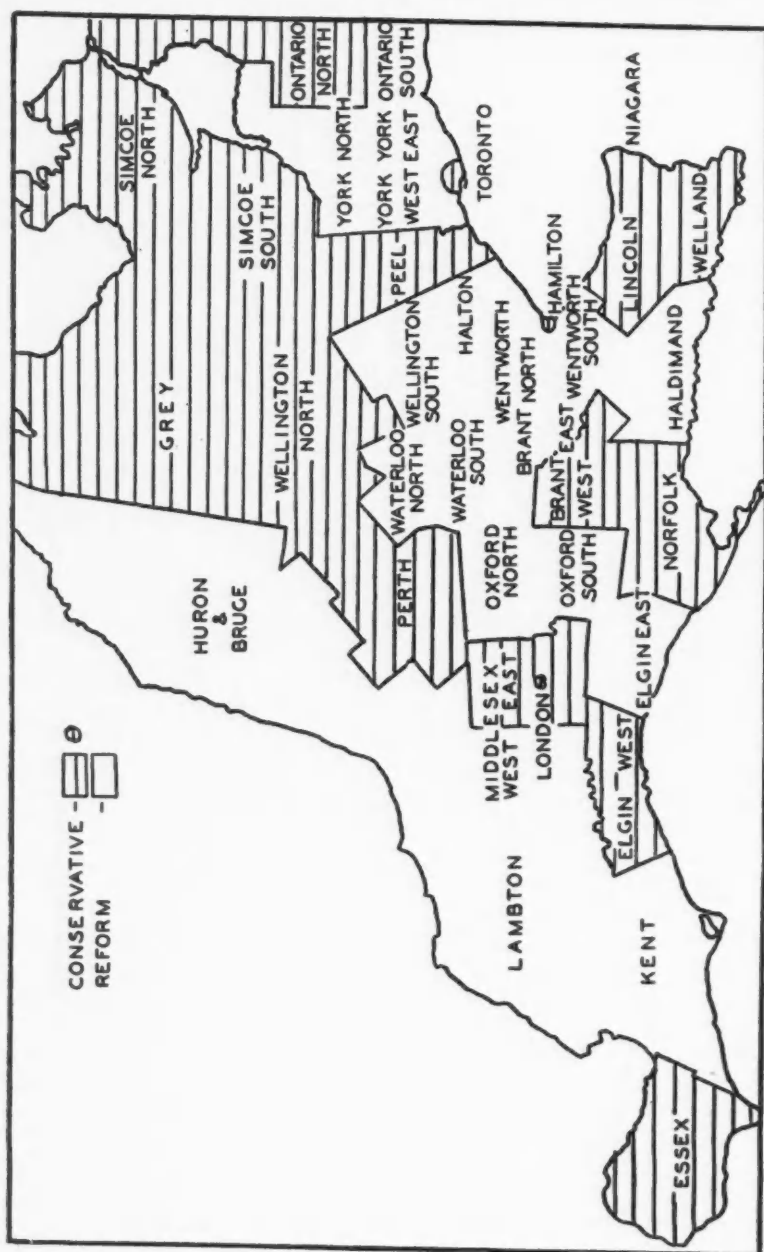
Between September, 1854 and August, 1858 a phase in the evolution of political party alignment in the Legislative Assembly was completed. The Upper Canadian wing of the old Baldwin-Lafontaine party lost its popular support, and was in 1854 replaced in power by the Tory-Conservative group. By 1858 this Tory-Conservative group, in its turn was now in a minority in Canada West. Precedent suggested that the new predominant group in the western section, the Reformers, should now, somehow, secure access to the reins of government. But the experiment in forming the Brown-Dorion administration in August, 1858 proved the impossibility of this course.

## II

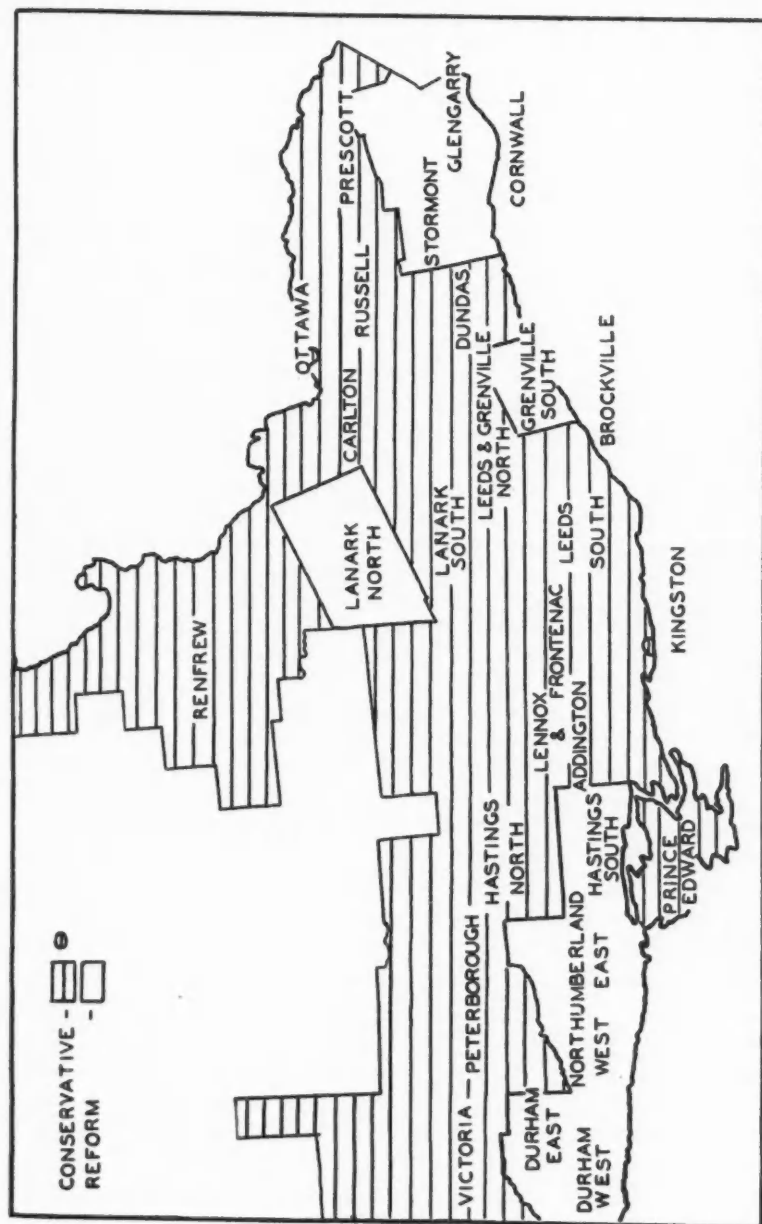
An examination of the history of the Legislative Assembly from August, 1858 to June, 1864 is a study of the anatomy of "deadlock." The political entities in the pattern of this second phase are four in number: Reformers and Conservatives from Canada West, and Rouges and Bleus from Canada East. Down to June 30, 1864 the force of polarity continued to align Conservatives about the Bleu nucleus, and Rouges with the Reformers. The relative strength of the adherents to the two poles altered gradually in this period in the direction of equality of the two forces, and the neutralization of power.

During the remaining three sessions of the Sixth Parliament, in 1859, 1860, and 1861, there is little significant change in the composition of the House. The 1861 dissolution was not occasioned by crisis. The division on choosing a speaker for the Seventh House, on March 20, 1862, sustained the Government's nominee by a margin of thirteen. The Cartier-J. A. Macdonald Ministry seemed to be assured of a working majority. To achieve this result the 1861 general election had witnessed an upsurge in Conservative support in Canada West. Thirty-one<sup>20</sup> members of the Seventh Legislative Assembly appear to have been Con-

<sup>20</sup>Anderson, Bell (Russell), Benjamin, J. H. Cameron, M. C. Cameron, Carling, Cockburn, Clarke, Crawford, Ferguson, Haultain, Hooper, Jackson, Jones, MacBeth, McCann, J. A. Macdonald, Morris, Morrison, Morton, Portman, W. F. Powell, Robinson, J. S. Ross, Ryerson, R. W. Scott, Sherwood, Simpson, Street, Tett, Walsh.



MAP 5. Western part of Canada West; general election, 1861.



MAP 6. Eastern part of Canada West; general election, 1861.

servatives, while only twenty-nine<sup>21</sup> adhered clearly to the Reform line. In Canada East, however, there was a falling-off in the solidarity of the French-Canadian bloc. The Bleu party representatives formed a bare majority of the sixty-five members from Canada East, and numbered thirty-three,<sup>22</sup> while their principal opponents in that section, the Rouge party, numbered twenty-two<sup>23</sup> supporters. The Seventh Parliament contained more independent members than the other Parliaments in the period. Six<sup>24</sup> Lower Canadian independents, again represented a "Liberal" viewpoint which at first supported the Liberal-Conservative, but later supported the Reform government.

On May 20, 1862 a motion for the second reading of the government-sponsored Militia Bill was defeated in division. This defeat of the Liberal-Conservative Executive Council was caused primarily by the defection of eleven Bleu members over the militia issue. J. S. Macdonald and Sicotte formed a new ministry on May 24, 1862, apparently seeking to capture the support of Lower-Canadian Liberal Independents and some of the eleven late supporters of the Bleu party, as well as the expected adherence of Rouges and Reformers. The strength of this new administration was not tested immediately, though on May 28, 1862 a bill to erect the parish of St. Pierre de Durham in the County of Durham sponsored by the Rouges' J. B. E. Dorion and Bourassa was maintained on division by sixty-two votes to thirty-four. The most optimistic hopes of the J. S. Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry were not realized in the Seventh Parliament after May 24, 1862. The eleven recalcitrant Bleus returned to the support of their parent party, and it became clear that the preponderance of Lower Canadian Liberals in the executive could not depend upon the unquestioning support of the Rouge group. Five members,

<sup>21</sup>Ault, Bell (North Lanark), J. L. Biggar, Burwell, Bown, Connor, Cowan, Dickson, Foley, Harcourt, Howland, D. A. Macdonald, J. S. Macdonald, A. Mackenzie, McDougall, McKellar, Mowat, Munro, Notman, Patrick, Rankin, Rymal, T. Scatcherd, J. S. Smith, Stirton, L. Wallbridge, White, Wilson, Wright. Buchanan considered himself an independent Reformer at this time. Dunsford, McLauchlin and Rykert shifted their support from the Liberal Conservative to the Reform Ministry in May, 1862. Perth was unrepresented in the early stages of the Parliament.

<sup>22</sup>Alley, M. W. Baby, Beaubien, Beaudreau, Blanchet, Brousseau, G. Caron, Cartier, Cauchon, Chapais, J. B. Daoust, deCazes, Denis, Desaulniers, Dostalier, J. Dufresne, Dunkin, Fournier, Galt, Gaudet, Knight, Langevin, Leboutillier, Mongenais, L. S. Morin, Pope, Poupore, Robitaille, J. Rose, J. J. Ross, Simard, Taschereau, Tassé. Dawson and Price supported J. S. Macdonald's ministry on its formation. Turcotte was Speaker.

<sup>23</sup>Archambault, Bourassa, Bureau, J. B. E. Dorion, Drummond, A. Dufresne, Evanturel, Falkner, Fortier, Huntington, P. G. Huot, Jobin, Joly, Kierzkowski, Labrèche-Viger, Laframboise, Loranger, McGee, O'Halloran, Rémillard, Somerville, Starnes. DeBoucherville was an independent member.

<sup>24</sup>Abbott, Gagnon, Hébert, Prévost, Sicotte, Sylvain.

Dunsford, McLauchlin and Rykert from Canada West, and Dawson and Price from Canada East, shifted their support from the old to the new ministry. An examination of the probable alignment of each member in the House, in the period subsequent to May 20, 1862 shows that the Government might expect to be supported by sixty-three votes on a measure of confidence, while the Liberal-Conservative Opposition might muster sixty-four votes. On May 6, 1863 a motion of want of confidence in the Reform Ministry was sustained by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-nine, and caused that government to advise a dissolution and a new general election.

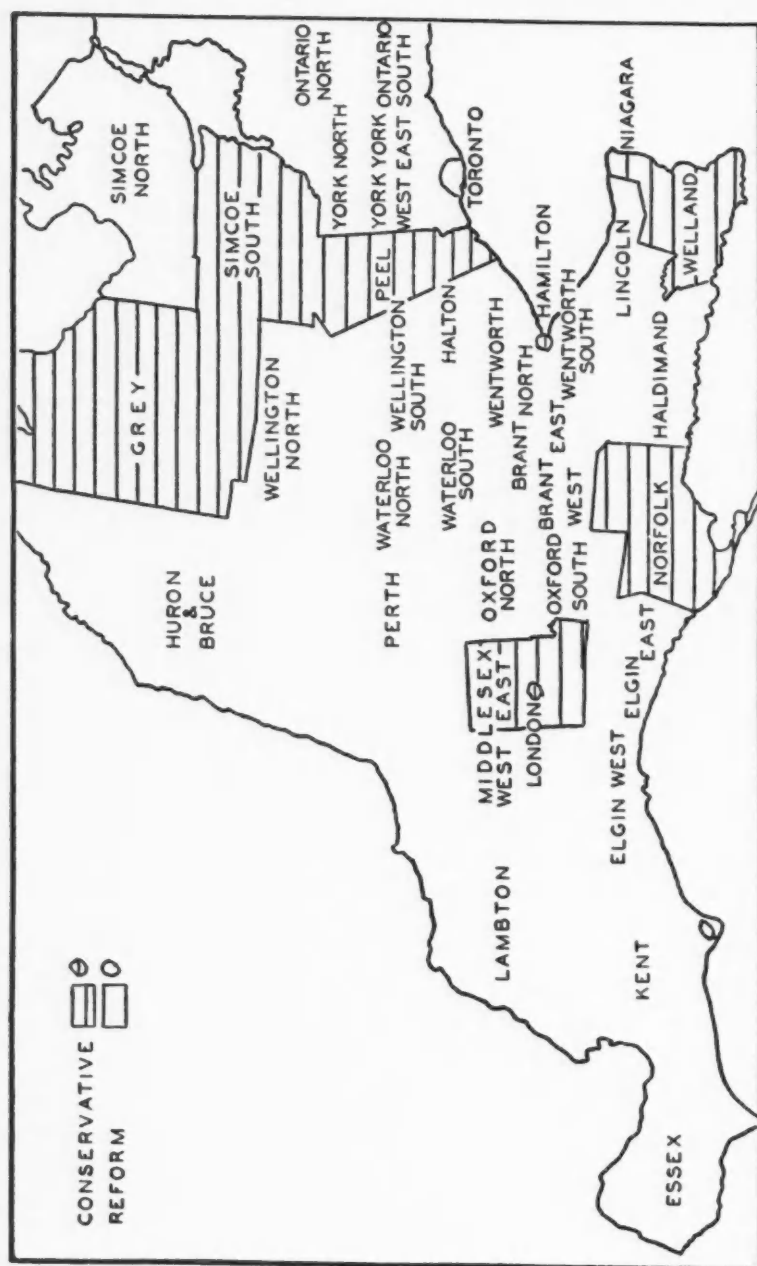
The strength and alignment of political groups in the Seventh Parliament disclosed a near balance of power between the two sides of the Legislative Assembly. The situation in the Sixth Parliament had been modified in the Seventh by the restoration of near parity between Reformers and Conservatives in Canada West, while Rouges and Liberals and Independents nearly equalled the strength of the Bleus in the East.

The general election in the summer of 1863 returned the Eighth and last Legislative Assembly in the United Province of Canada. In the interim between sessions, J. S. Macdonald had reorganized his cabinet, and appealed now to the Rouge party in Canada East, by choosing A. A. Dorion, Holton, Huntington, Laframboise, and Thibaudeau, rather than to the more moderate opinion which had been represented in office by Abbott and Sicotte. On the assembling of the new legislature there was a noticeable tightening-up in the affiliation of members. No middle group of Liberals now appeared among the Eastern Canadian members. The Bleu party controlled thirty-eight<sup>25</sup> seats while the Government was sustained by twenty-three<sup>26</sup> Rouge votes. In Canada West there was a comparable radical adjustment in the strength of parties; the Reformers numbered thirty-nine<sup>27</sup> while the opposing Conserva-

<sup>25</sup>Alley, Archambault, Beaubien, Bellerose, Blanchet, Brousseau, Cartier, Cauchon, Chapais, Cornellier, Daoust, deBoucherville, Denis, Duckett, J. Dufresne, Évanturel, Galt, Gaudet, Harwood, Irvine, Knight, Langevin, Leboutillier, McGee, Pinsonneault, Pope, Poulin, Poupore, Price, Robitaille, J. Rose, J. J. Ross, Sicotte, Taschereau, Tassé, Turcotte, Webb, Wright.

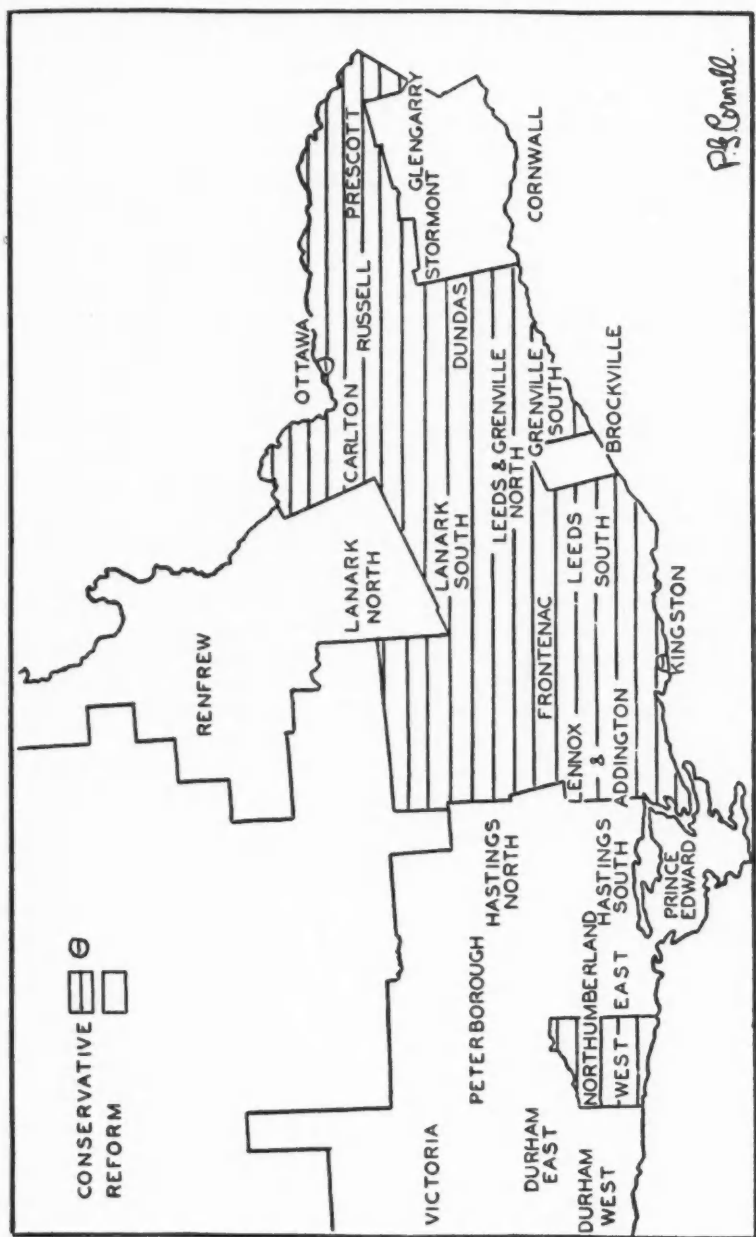
<sup>26</sup>Bourassa, Caron, Coupal, A. A. Dorion, J. B. E. Dorion, A. Dufresne, Fortier, Gagnon, Geoffrion, Holton, Houde, Huntington, Huot, Joly, Labrèche-Viger, Laframboise, Lajoie, Pâquet, Perrault, Pouliot, Rémillard, Somerville, Thibaudeau.

<sup>27</sup>Ault, R. Bell (N. Lanark), J. L. Biggar, Brown, Burwell, Chambers, Cowan, Dickson, Dunsford, Howland, D. A. Macdonald, J. Macdonald, J. S. Macdonald, MacFarlain, A. MacKenzie, H. F. MacKenzie, McConkey, McDougall, McGivan, McIntyre, McKellar, Mowat, Munro, Notman, Parker, W. Ross, Richards, Rymal, T. Scatcherd, Scoble, A. M. Smith, J. S. Smith, Stirton, Thompson, T. C. Wallbridge, Wells, White, Wood, Wright. L. Wallbridge was Speaker.



MAP 7. Western part of Canada West; general election, 1863.





MAP 8. Eastern part of Canada West; general election, 1863.

tives controlled only twenty-two<sup>28</sup> members. One hundred and twenty-two members of the Eighth Parliament were included in the ranks of the four principal political groups, and of this number sixty-two supported J. S. Macdonald and A. A. Dorion, while sixty opposed them. The balance of power was clearly held by the six members—Bown and Foley, Abbott and Sylvain, and Dunkin and O'Halloran, who in the pairs indicated, altered their allegiance at various times during the course of the first and second sessions.<sup>29</sup> It was the action of these six Independents which contrived to render it impossible for either the Rouge-Reformers, or the Liberal-Conservatives to secure a working majority in the Eighth Parliament. While the Seventh Legislative Assembly was made up of forces in near equality, the Eighth was characterized by a majority in opposition to a government formed from either side of the House.

The J. S. Macdonald-A. A. Dorion Government continued in office till the third week of March, 1864. It had been maintained by a narrow majority of two voices on several vital questions. On March 16, 1864 there was a tied vote on a bill concerning weights and measures. Shortly thereafter Macdonald and Dorion yielded up their powers. A Liberal-Conservative Ministry was formed on March 30, 1864 which, in its turn, survived by majorities as small as two. Ultimately this latter administration succumbed to a vote of censure on June 14, 1864 by a margin of two votes

### III

The situation in the Legislative Assembly in 1864 bears marked similarity to that facing Hincks a decade earlier. The one persistent feature in the changing scene was the French-Canadian Nationalist Bloc, controlled by Lafontaine, Morin, and more recently, by Cartier. This group was represented in the executive portion of the government during most of the period from 1848 down to Confederation. It was the deterioration of ministerial support from Canada West which forced Hincks from office. The new alignment of forces arrived at by the Liberal-Conservatives

<sup>28</sup>R. Bell (Russell), Buchanan, J. H. Cameron, Carling, Cartwright, Cockburn, Conger, Currier, W. Ferguson, T. R. Ferguson, Higginson, Jackson, F. Jones, J. A. Macdonald, Morris, W. F. Powell, J. S. Ross, Shanley, Simpson, Street, Walsh, Willson. The Essex election was disputed, and the riding long unrepresented.

<sup>29</sup>Bown and Foley were Reformers from Canada West, who hotly opposed the reconstruction of J. S. Macdonald's Ministry prior to the Eighth Parliament. Foley was one of the excluded ministers. Abbot and Sylvain were Liberal Independents from Canada East, associates of Sicotte. Abbott was another of the ministers excluded from office in 1863. Dunkin was an Independent English Tory from Lower Canada. O'Halloran appears to have been a radical independent.

in resolving the 1854 crisis, secured for a few years the majority support of Canada West. By 1864 the same basic problem re-occurred: how was a majority to be found in Upper Canada, which might be aligned with the continuing Bleu majority in Lower Canada? During the Seventh Parliament (1861-3) the alignment of members and parties still held out some hope that the Liberal-Conservative parties might be able, in the long run, to control the destinies of government. The signal success of the Reformers in Canada West in 1863 cast doubt upon this expectation. The basic strength of the Bleu party and the Reform movement was their accurate representation of the characteristic viewpoints of their sections of the province. Now, in 1864, the two largest and most potent groups in the House were the two most sectionally conscious. The precedent of 1854 suggests that a possible basis of government-building lay in the coalition of the two strongest parties in the House—the Bleus and the Upper Canadian Reformers. This conception was surely active in the mind of J. S. Macdonald, the most vocal exponent of the "Double Majority" principle. Yet the sharp conflict in the fundamental constitutional and sectional aspirations of Bleus and Reformers must have prevented any hope in 1863 that these two groups could conceive one formula which would be acceptable to both. The frustration of both Rouge-Reform and Liberal-Conservative efforts to secure a lasting majority made it clear on June 14, 1864 that it was necessary to have recourse to some new alignment of political groups.

The resolution of deadlock, as a problem in parliamentary manoeuvring, reduced itself to the question: which of the two major parties, the Bleu or the Reform, would yield ground first, or which seize initiative on the basis of a new formula? At this period the Reformers were essentially advocates of change, while the basic theme of the Bleu group was defence of the status quo. The psychological basis for the Reformers' victory in 1863 in Canada West may have been the expectation that full support of the Reform administration, then in office, might at last carry a progressive programme through to positive enactment. But the Bleu victory in Canada East at the same election carries the impression of men consolidating their ranks to stand at bay before the threat of a Rouge party in power, clearly in alliance with the principal enemy, the Reformers of Canada West. United in defence of existing rights and privileges, the French Nationalist group could remain defiant, united, and immovable. The cohesion of the Reform movement stemmed from the advocacy of change, yet there was not unanimity of opinion on the exact policy of

change. Inability to initiate change would ultimately result in the disintegration of the party of advocacy. Of the two principal groups in the Legislative Assembly in 1864, the Bleus were in a strong position, for the future of the Reform movement depended upon resolution of the deadlock.

The coalitions of 1854 and 1864 were Upper Canadian arrangements seeking to secure the largest possible support from that portion of the province to add to the basis of power so firmly held by the Lower Canadian group. In 1864, as on the previous occasion, the Reformers of Canada West broke into two factions, of which the more moderate came into support of the Liberal-Conservative alignment. The coalition government formed on June 30, 1864 was supported by all Conservatives, the large bulk of the Bleus, and four-fifths of the Reformers. The Rouge party and the dissenting segment of the Reform group furnished the basis for an opposition. The arrangement of forces arrived at on June 30, 1864 held firm down to the achievement of Confederation.

#### IV

This inquiry has chosen to view the political struggle in the Province of Canada in the decade following 1854 from the scene in the Legislative Assembly, the ultimate field for the testing of political strength. There has been a tendency to go to extremes in envisaging the political scene either as a chaos of instability, or alternatively, and more commonly, to take the existence of well-disciplined political parties for granted. There is little basis for assuming that there was complete co-ordination of the Upper and Lower Canadian groups commonly designated "Liberal-Conservatives" or "Reformers." Any analysis of the period must deal with at least four discrete but somewhat loose political groups. Yet in the House the effect of political polarity was clearly evident; the large majority of members did, as a fact, identify themselves fairly consistently with one or other of the two groups which either supported or opposed the government of the moment. Among the adherents of both political poles, a distinction was maintained between those elected in Canada East and those from Canada West. The four groups preserved their identity, while functioning within conventions established in England, by the traditional opposition of two major political parties.

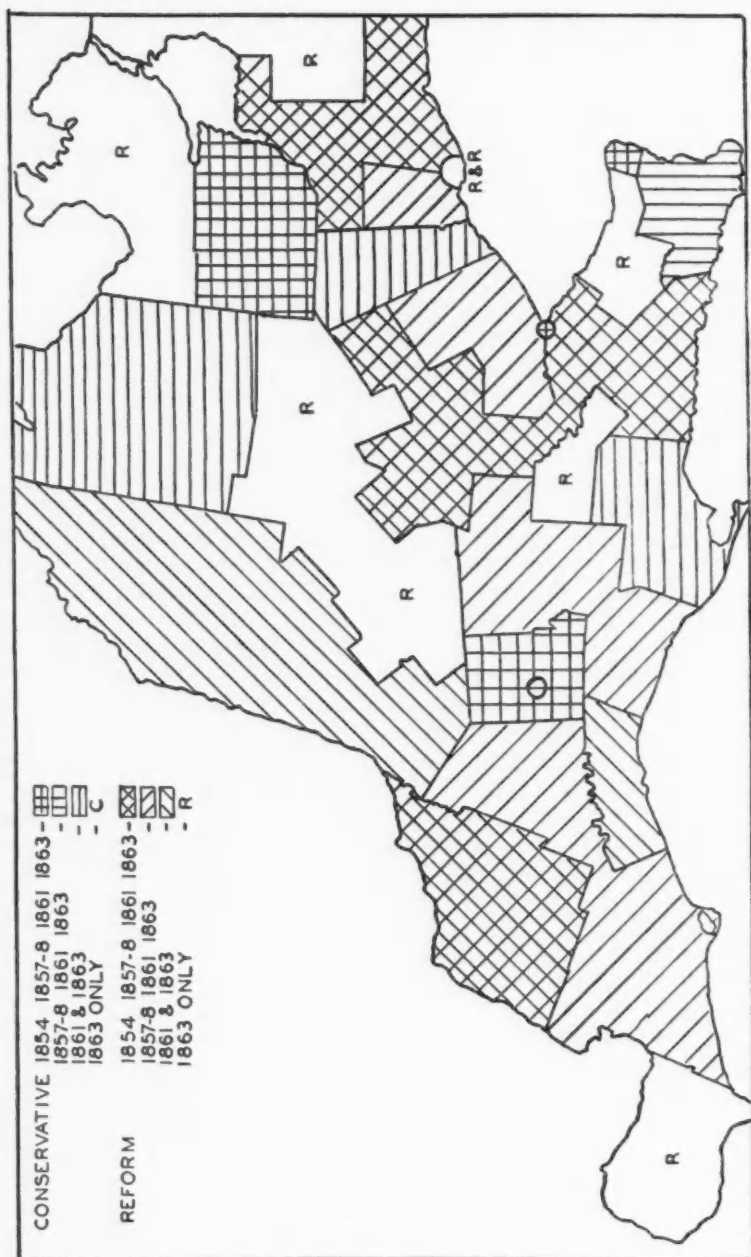
If the electoral battles of the decade are viewed as successive contests between forces of the political "left" and the political "right," a fairly simple pattern emerges. From 1854 to 1864 the forces of the "right" were predominant in Canada East. The

election of 1861 marked their lowest ebb in that section where the opposition from the "left" was strong, and dissenting tendencies were noticeable, even among traditional supporters. The record of elections in Canada West discloses a continuation of the rhythmic alternation of successes for "right" and "left" which was first noticeable in Upper Canada in the late eighteen-twenties and thirties. In the decade reviewed here, the elections of 1854 and 1861 favoured the "right," while those in 1857-8 and 1863 were triumphs for the "left."

The pivot of parliamentary manoeuvring in Canada during this decade was surely the large, fairly resilient bloc of members from Canada East, who commanded a majority from that section throughout the period. The normal strategy in forming an administration from 1848 on, and certainly after 1854, had been to secure the support of the Bleu group in Canada East, and to add to this the strength of as large a contingent as possible from Canada West. The Reformers in Canada West were the basis of the force opposed to the Bleu's, and formed the nucleus of the second pole of political opinion. With the Reformers lay the role of initiating the ideas for change while their opponents' strategy was defensive. Perhaps the key to the frustration of Reform efforts throughout the decade lies in the fact that Lower Canada was more easily united in defence of religion and tradition than Upper Canada in an offensive for aims with which all did not agree.

In the long view of the decade, given the limits imposed by equal representation from the two sections of the province, there seems to be much merit in the "Double Majority" principle so consistently advocated by J. S. Macdonald. The Bleus were consistently the Lower Canadian majority, the continuing problem of instability was due to the changing complexion of the Upper Canadian majority.

The Rouge party in Canada East, and the Conservatives in Canada West played more positive roles than are indicated by simple adherence to one or the other of the principal foci of political strength. The Rouge party advocated positive innovation, but found little political success in defining a platform which at once advocated reform and still endeavoured to appeal to the characteristic viewpoint of French Canada. The Conservative party in Canada West served an important dual role. Its outlook, conditioned by the necessity for carrying on the practical measures of government, was, in effect, less sectional than the viewpoint of the other three principal political groups. It preserved the possibility of continuing the provincial government by



MAP 9. Western part of Canada West; political trends in the general elections, 1854-63.





emphasizing the requirements of day by day administration and suppressed speculation on doctrine and theory. In addition, the Conservative group continued to divide the representation of Canada West in significant numbers, and denied to the Reformers a nearly unanimous mandate from that section. Theoretically, a coalition of Bleus and Reformers in 1863 or 1864 would have provided a firm basis of power for a new administration. In practice this coalition was only brought about when the Conservative group was included in the new structure.

Any broad assumption that the Upper Canadian Reformers began in 1854 to secure an ever growing and triumphant hegemony in that section of the province is to accept the partisan interpretations appearing in the *Globe* at face value. As the deadlock of 1864 approached, it is true that the conception behind the cry "Representation by Population" divided the Conservative group on this one important point. Yet even T. R. Ferguson, for example, latterly a leading advocate of this constitutional principle, was still a true Conservative. In spite of the potentialities of "Representation by Population" as a doctrine in Reform hands, the Conservative party preserved its identity and continued to deny effective control of Canada West to the Reformers. Had a Ninth General Election occurred in the United Province of Canada, it is not a foregone conclusion that the Reformers of Canada West would have increased or even maintained their majority in that section.

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## THE POLITICS OF THE TIMBER TRADE IN COLONIAL NEW BRUNSWICK, 1825-40

THE politics of colonial New Brunswick have defied the attempts of historians to generalize. Professor Lower has referred to their occult and questionable character. They are distinguished by an absence of that doctrinal abstraction which makes the Canadian and Nova Scotian stories relatively easy to follow. There were no seers and prophets like Baldwin and Howe to simplify the issues. It is the purpose of this article to show that the lack of cohesion in New Brunswick politics, the shifting cleavage of opinion, were owing to the nature of the New Brunswick economy—that it was the politics of the timber trade which determined the course of events during the period under review. The thesis might be stated in a more general way to the effect that the struggle for the control of Crown Lands, upon which the timber trade was dependent, forced all other issues far into the background. While in 1837 Canadian Reformers were concerned with the application of a new principle of government, the merchant democrats of New Brunswick were achieving a victory in the economic field which made remaining discontents seem abstract and impractical.

It has been said that during the Napoleonic Wars seventeenth-twentieths of the New Brunswick population were dependent upon the timber trade for their maintenance. For the twenty-five years following the Treaty of Vienna, while the population was more than doubling, there is no reason for greatly reducing this estimate. The specific factors responsible for the growth of the trade were the preference for colonial timber which amounted to 45s. per load of 50 cubic feet and the high tariff charge upon foreign timber admitted to the United Kingdom. This tax had been imposed during the War for revenue purposes and was maintained virtually unaltered for twenty years after the peace. It completely eliminated Baltic timber from the expanding markets of industrial Britain which became the purlieu of exporters from British North America. Though the colonial product could not equal the quality of Baltic timber for frame building, it was considered superb for interior fitting and wainscoting.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A good summary of the history of the timber duties and a review of their effects is to be found in the evidence of J. D. Hume and others, given before the Select Committee for Taking Duties on Timber. See *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1835.

Nova Scotia and Canada shared in this development but not to the very great degree to which all New Brunswick, with the exception of the southeast corner adjacent to Nova Scotia, participated. The statistics show that the West Indies market offered temporary distractions only, that the fisheries, providing seasonal employment to coastal dwellers, were of secondary importance, that agriculture almost perished. It was the timber trade which paid for the great importations of food and hardware necessary to an expanding society on wilderness soil. It was the products of timber, the ships, which, by sale in the harbours of the United Kingdom and by the charges earned in the carriage of freight, invisibly redeemed the heavy balance of trade against the colony. The all-consequence of the timber trade is well revealed by the province-wide celebrations which occurred in 1831 when the British Government was defeated in the House of Commons on a proposal to increase the duty on colonial timber. While effigies of Noble Lords prominent in promoting the measure were blazing above them, citizens of Fredericton roasted and ate oxen in the streets. At St. Andrew's the exuberant populace, amid toasts to the Glorious Forty-Six majority of members against the measure, towed a Baltic-built ship into the estuary of the St. Croix and there blew her up with gunpowder, "with very pretty effect."<sup>2</sup>

With the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the trade had begun to spread to every part of the province. The lower St. John Valley, owing to the very selective requirements of the timbermen, was even at this early stage regarded as a worked-out area.<sup>3</sup> Interest quickly developed in the almost unexplored north where plundering parties of Americans had long been operating without permanent settlement. It was Allan Gilmour, a merchant of Glasgow, who, deprived of his sources of supply in Poland and Finland by the operation of the Continental Blockade and later by the competition of Baltic shippers, first established permanent, large-scale operations on the Miramichi. Between 1823 and 1831 his series of reconnaissances, "to visit the navigable rivers, to see where the forests were," resulted in the founding of the firms of Gilmour, Rankine and Company of Miramichi and Bathurst, Robert Rankine and Company, Saint John, and Arthur Ritchie and Company, Restigouche. With additional satellites at Quebec and Montreal, he handled in his best days three hundred cargoes of timber

<sup>2</sup>*St. John Courier*, Apr. 30, 1831.

<sup>3</sup>For the manner in which New Brunswick was supplanted by Lower Canada as a source of masts for the Royal Navy, see R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, 1926).

annually, some on his own account and others on contract, which were dispersed to every port of the United Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> About the same time, Joseph Cunard established himself as emperor of the right bank of the Miramichi which, as early as 1825, could claim pride of place over the St. John Valley both for the quantity and the quality of its timber. The great fire of that year forced the timber frontier northward and Bathurst became a port of consequence. In the early eighteen-thirties, the operators were moving up the Restigouche in search of the ever-scarcer pine groves. By 1840 it was said that the only good timber left in New Brunswick was to be found in the disputed territory, an economic factor which has not received its due account. For in New Brunswick, the issue in contention with the United States was seen as the trade of Fredericton *versus* that of Bangor. Had it not been for the trade in spruce deals which attained sudden prominence in 1833 and which led to the erection of hundreds of sawmills, timber might have ceased to be a factor of major importance.

Control of the trade inevitably fell into the hands of those few individuals who could guarantee delivery of large quantities trimmed to the specifications of the importers in the United Kingdom. Thus the bulk of the trade of the Miramichi, Nepisiguit, and Restigouche gravitated towards either one of the arch-rivals, Alexander Rankine, Gilmour's deputy, or Joseph Cunard. The numerous middlemen who did business with the timber-gangs were in the camp of one party or the other. Newcastle and Chatham became the capitals of contending factions whose rivalry originated in trade but extended into politics and religion. Their "collisions" in the woods form a large part of the legend of the Miramichi. The trade of the St. John valley was more widely dispersed, but ultimate control lay with the merchants of Saint John, a city which attained dizzy heights of optimism with the expansion of timber but which recoiled into equally abysmal depths of disaster when the trade encountered adversity.

Concentration upon timber was so general that agriculture, despite official concern, barely survived. The populous localities such as Saint John and the Miramichi towns imported virtually all food-products necessary to their sustenance chiefly from the United States, to which the specie of the province was invariably drawn. Time and time again the statisticians emphasize this vital point. It was soberly estimated that the imperial duties on

<sup>4</sup>For Gilmour's own account of his work see *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1835, Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee for Taking Duties on Timber.

wheat, flour, and salted products, which had been removed from the Canadas, were alone responsible for enabling agriculture to yield its wretchedly poor volume of products, most of which were marketed in the areas in which they were produced.<sup>5</sup> The merchant community of Saint John, which was anxious to import everything the province consumed, as well as to export everything it produced, opposed these duties consistently.<sup>6</sup> Similarly the lumbering interests opposed the bounties which the provincial legislature paid on fish and farm-products. Through their hands passed a ceaseless turn-over of goods, going both ways, from which they could extract a two-way profit. This was the condition which they had established for themselves and which they hoped to extend. Such a condition made the calling of "store-keeper" a highly lucrative one; and the men who came to the fore in New Brunswick during this period, if they were not of the legal profession, were of this calling. "The merchants and shippers derive profits from the very causes which suppress agriculture in New Brunswick."<sup>7</sup>

Of the effects of the timber trade upon the generality of the inhabitants, it is possible to write with confidence. It was the rare farmer indeed who devoted himself to agricultural pursuits for twelve months of the year. The seductions of the woods were not confined to immediate cash returns. There was the lure of an adventurous life and good companionship opposed to the solitary and patient toil of the farm. Moralists of the period point to the general intemperance of the lumbermen and their idle frittering away of profits. For our purposes, it is sufficient to say that the system of "open accounts" maintained with the merchants, by which parties were outfitted and provisioned in the autumn on credit with interest of 35 or 40 per cent, rendered very familiar the spectacle of the lumberman returning to his farm in early summer, wearing brightly checkered store clothes but without cash. On the pinching effect upon his farming operations, it is not necessary to dwell. Farmers make good lumbermen but lumbermen do not make good farmers.<sup>8</sup> Men of capital who attempted large-scale farming inevitably found themselves defeated by the higher wages paid to immigrants in the timber-trade or in the ship-yards of Saint John.

<sup>5</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 188, Harvey to Glenelg, May 18, 1838.

<sup>6</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 61, Petition of St. John Chamber of Commerce, Nov. 6, 1837.

<sup>7</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 189, The memorial of Marcus Gunn, Aug. 14, 1835. Dispatches received (enclosure).

<sup>8</sup>For an interesting presentation of the option which faced the New Brunswick farmer, see Mrs. F. Beaven, *Life in the Backwoods of New Brunswick* (London, 1846).

As only one-fifth of the total acreage of the province was held as private property, it was the ungranted domain of the Crown which offered the greatest incentive to timber-hunters; and it was the management of this domain which occasioned nine-tenths of the political grievances in New Brunswick during the period. After 1815 the imperial government took no direct interest in the forests and the first imposition of authority came in 1819 when the Executive Council of New Brunswick placed a duty of 1s. per ton on timber cut on Crown Lands. Timber-cruisers, who up to this time had freely roamed through the woods taking what they pleased, were compelled to come to Fredericton, state in advance how much timber they proposed to cut and in what locality, and stake bonds for the payment of the duty in the following spring. The legislature condemned the duty as the ruination of the trade. To the mercantile element it came as an immediate reduction of profit. But in spite of opposition and inefficiency in the manner in which the tonnage money was collected, the duty constituted the means by which a considerable fund was created. When Sir Howard Douglas arrived in the province in 1824 as lieutenant-governor, he found to his delight that upwards of £20,000 had accumulated in what was known as the casual and territorial revenue of the Crown. It was free from interference by the legislature and gave to the government an increased degree of independence. For the official junta at Fredericton, the importance of the casual revenue vastly increased in 1830 when the imperial authorities placed upon it the charge of maintaining the civil list of government. How important it became as a factor in the politics of New Brunswick can best be appreciated by comparison with the yields from the Crown Lands of Nova Scotia and the Canadas.

In 1824 also there appeared the man who for the next fifteen years was to be the central figure of New Brunswick politics. The letters of Thomas Baillie tell us that he was in the army during the Napoleonic Wars, and that at the peace he entered the Colonial Office where he had a brother, George Baillie, one of the financial agents for the colonies. He ingratiated himself with Lord Bathurst who in this year offered him a consulship at Tunis. But he was persuaded to relinquish this post in favour of another nominee and by way of compensation was offered that of commissioner of crown lands and surveyor-general in New Brunswick. This transaction by which Baillie, in his own mind at any rate, established a claim of "vested right" in office, partly explains the strong hand he was able to play both at the Colonial Office and in the politics of the

province in the years which lay ahead.<sup>9</sup>

One of the last generation of colonial administrators appointed from the Mother Country, Baillie received an unfriendly reception upon his arrival in the province. The terms of his commission authorized him to exact fees which, if collected, would have reached monstrous proportions. But Douglas, exercising a politic discretion amid the bitter undercurrents of criticism and invective, effected a reorganization of offices one of the effects of which was the reduction to reasonable limits of Baillie's combined fees and salary as commissioner of crown lands only. In this transaction Baillie perhaps played up his role as one of magnanimous surrender, and thus further increased his claim upon the authorities at home. The reorganization, which also took away from the receiver-general the custody of the tonnage money and drastically reduced the importance of the office, antagonized Baillie with the influential Bliss connexion of whom Judge John Murray Bliss was the leading protagonist and whose son, George Pigeon Bliss, occupied the office.<sup>10</sup>

Of Baillie's character the principle qualities stated in his favour are those of frankness and liberality. Certainly he was a man of imagination who could speak of himself as "an estate-keeper of sixteen million acres." The unabashed accusation of dishonesty which Hannay, the historian of New Brunswick, makes against him can not be borne out by the judgment of his contemporary officials or the documentary evidence we possess today.<sup>11</sup> His arbitrariness was based upon a conviction of the power of the prerogative and upon a determination to carry out the letter of his instructions. But there was a carelessness of administrative detail, particularly in financial matters, and too great a confidence in his subordinates which later exposed him to the merciless attacks of his enemies. He was probably garrulous, boastful, and vain. The anecdote related by Hannay, that he attempted to dress the personnel of his office in uniforms with brass buttons, is as good an indication as any of the *hauteur* which he introduced to the rugged Fredericton scene of 1824. His enemies could say that he enjoyed a princely salary; but his friends could reply that he spent it in a princely way.

<sup>9</sup>Baillie's memorials are numerous and are to be found throughout the whole of the official correspondence of New Brunswick during his years in office. C.O. 193/3 is a volume of his private papers.

<sup>10</sup>Judge Bliss, during the brief period in which he administered the province in 1824, appointed his son to the office under terms of a very generous commission. Of the connexion, Lemuel Allan Wilmot, Charles Simonds, and Hugh Johnston were later to lead the legislative attack against Baillie.

<sup>11</sup>J. Hannay, *The History of New Brunswick* (2 vols., Saint John, 1909), II, 34.



After the death of his first wife, Baillie in 1833 married the daughter of William F. Odell, the provincial secretary, and further cemented an affinity with this powerful official which had been steadily developing for years. During the lieutenant-governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell (1831-7), a hero of the Burmese War and a man of stern Tory conviction but retired habits, the province was governed by what might be called the Odell-Baillie clique. The salaries of the secretary and the commissioner far exceeded those of other officials, even that of the chief justice. This fact, extremely evident on the social front at Fredericton, steadily alienated from the compact the Loyalist families on whom it might naturally lean for support. Of all the group of officials about the governor, Baillie was not the most judicious, but he was the most aggressive; and he had the power to influence the material fortunes of the entire province.

Upon taking office, Baillie found the affairs of his department in chaotic condition. His insane predecessor, Lockwood, had been placing public money in his own pocket and spending it on a lavish scale. It seems clear that, during the interregnum prior to the arrival of Douglas, the administration had been the prey of local cabals.<sup>12</sup> There was no true record of what was Crown Land and what was private property. The calculations of the unprofessional early surveyors were incomplete and inaccurate. The practice had been general of marking off the fronts of land-grants from the rivers and streams along which they lay, a quick and easy method of measuring. But the side and rear lines were not marked off at all, a condition which explains the very large amount of litigation in colonial New Brunswick.

Baillie's objective was the creation of an enlarged Land Office establishment which could rectify the errors and omissions of forty years and extend his authority to every corner of the province. During twelve years of office in which his power was steadily on the increase, it is fair to say that he largely succeeded. As the timber-trade recovered from the setback of 1826, his deputies pursued the operators to the furthest reaches of the four great rivers which drain northern New Brunswick. They enforced the

<sup>12</sup>"I found the Crown Revenue in a very confused and extraordinary predicament and have had a great deal of trouble and difficulty in clearing it from the complications resulting from the fund having been first in the hands of a lunatic, then in those of a Receiver-General who was himself the Auditor-General and then in the hands of Mr. Bliss, the late President's son, who refused to render any account to the Auditor-General and who had in his hands when I called him to account no less than nine thousand pounds of the public money." P.A.C., C.O. 189, Dispatches Received, 1840, Sir Howard Douglas to G. Baillie, Enclosure to G. Baillie to Russell, May 19, 1840.

edicts of the commissioner, exacted fees for making surveys, seized timber when it was illegally cut. Baillie himself was the supreme power. He made the legislation governing the timber-trade, he enforced his own legislation, he adjudicated upon disputes among the operators. Most important of all his offices was the receptacle for the tonnage money for which he was accountable to nobody but the lieutenant-governor. His functions were legislative, executive, judicial, financial, making him what his detractors called "a fourth branch of government." He could boast of having prosecuted many of the wealthy timbermen who sat in the legislature. Most significant of these prosecutions was that of Charles Simonds for trespass in Saint John in 1827, an action which commenced a vindictive personal enmity which finally was to be one of the major factors in destroying the ascendancy of Baillie and his associates.

But the commissioner made himself a marked man for still another reason, one which antagonized not only the timber trade but those remnants of the colonial aristocracy who surrounded him in Fredericton. This was the enthusiastic support which he gave to the new policy of sale of Crown Land inaugurated by the Colonial Office in 1827 but not finally put into effect until 1831. The Downing Street officials, on the basis of floods of statistics of trade from Van Diemen's Land to Lake Huron, had reached a specific conclusion. Two conditions of life in the colonies had struck them as significant. These were the high wages of labour and the cheapness of land. The surplus and unwanted labourers of industrial Britain could, therefore, after a short period of apprenticeship in the colonies, buy from the Crown the lands on which they should finally settle. Furthermore, if large expanses of Crown Land should be sold, there would be created a fund which, safely invested in British Government securities, could pay for the entire expenses of civil government. Criticism of the appropriations made for the support of the colonial government and church had been frequent and sharp in the House of Commons.

The scrapping of the old system of free grants of land came as a rude shock to the Loyalist families whose honourable traditions did not compensate for their disappointed expectations. For now they were confronted with the unfamiliar elements of capital, of which they had none, and speculation in land, which could change the entire social structure of the province. Sir Howard Douglas, whose name still bears a liberal reputation in New Brunswick but whose dispatches reflect the attitudes of the colonial aristocracy, bitterly opposed the new policy. For two years the law officers of

the crown, C. J. Peters and G. F. Street, forced a delay on the plea that what had been given under the Sign Manual in 1784 could not be reversed by the mere instruction of a secretary of state in 1827. The entire bench of judges concurred in this opinion. The old system, though it failed for forty years to advance the settlement of the province, had been highly favoured. The timber-trade could exploit the ungranted forests; and officers of government could occasionally obtain free grants of land to hold until the great day should come when property values in New Brunswick should rise.<sup>13</sup> Baillie, and this is perhaps a testimonial to his courage, was the only man who said that the new policy would work. In the furore which broke out as the sale of Crown Lands was finally ordered by the Colonial Office in 1831 and enforced by Baillie, the imposition of quitrents on granted lands was a matter of quite secondary importance.

The failure of the policy of sale of Crown Lands was general throughout British North America. But in New Brunswick, Baillie produced for six years ample evidence of what appeared to be complete success.<sup>14</sup> Revenue from sales steadily increased until, in the first six months of 1835, the casual revenue amounted to the unprecedented sum of £153,739. The explanation lies in the great prosperity of the timber-trade during the early and middle thirties. The demands of the British market could not be filled; and competition for valuable timber-bearing areas increased proportionately. These years of New Brunswick history reflect a frontier optimism. Information concerning the location of mill-sites or of pine groves was at a premium. Employees of the Crown Land Office embarked on enterprises of their own. The story was current that a clerk in Baillie's office made £1,000 in a single day by the purchase and resale of a single small tract of land. One of the most contentious cases to come before the Council concerned the ownership of a few rocks at a narrow point on the Big Nipisiguit above Bathurst where a dam could be built under favourable circumstances.<sup>15</sup> The crest of the wave was probably reached early in 1836 when, after the failure of the cotton crop in the United States, British ships with empty holds called at Saint John for timber. The merchants of Saint John on this occasion, despite the agreement with the

<sup>13</sup>In 1827, immediately before the sales policy was put into effect, Douglas had procured grants of 2,000 acres for each member of the Council.

<sup>14</sup>From 1831 to 1837 acreages sold in the various provinces were as follows: New Brunswick, 694,180, Lower Canada, 371,015, Upper Canada, 95,775, Nova Scotia, 116,824. The New Brunswick total is exclusive of the 500,000 acres sold to the Land Company. See P.A.C., C.O. 189, Dispatches Received, 1840, Return to an Address of the House of Commons, March 31, 1840.

<sup>15</sup>P.A.C., Council Minutes, July 23, 1839.

United States to the contrary, petitioned for the right to export timber which had been cut on the disputed territory.<sup>16</sup> So long as these conditions prevailed, Baillie could steadily increase the upset price asked at auction for tracts of Crown Land; he could select sites for mills, dams, and booms and value them at what seemed exorbitant prices. In the exercise of his functions as supreme arbiter there is evidence that he showed favouritism to privileged individuals.<sup>17</sup>

The infiltration of the province by American timber interests in these years was an important contributory factor to the temporary success of the land sales policy. In 1835 the land market in Maine was in an extremely buoyant state; and much of the enthusiasm and easy money came to New Brunswick. Maine timbermen, with allegedly unlimited sums of capital, appeared on the scene to take part in the onslaught on the forests. The position was at first complicated because the law did not permit aliens to hold lands in the province. Their naturalization could be achieved only by conformity to the Church of England. The first sales made to them were through British subjects as intermediaries; and Campbell, getting wind of them, promptly cancelled them.<sup>18</sup> But two years later they were accepted with equanimity. There became general a feeling that American capital was necessary for the development of the country. Peters, the attorney-general, gave an opinion that only by the incorporation of Americans with British subjects in limited companies could their participation be made legal.<sup>19</sup> By 1836 the organization of such limited corporations amounted to a mania. The names of lawyers and merchants who made up the legislature are to be found on the lists of shareholders. The most important of these promoters was Ernest H. Lombard, a professed American who had been driven from lumbering operations on the Aroostook, but one who said that British institutions were best. His formation of the Red Rapids Company which operated on the Tobique involved the purchase of 100,000 acres.<sup>20</sup> In the southern part of the province, the leading spirit in

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, May 3, 1836.

<sup>17</sup>A remarkable example of the questionable practices which prevailed at the Crown Lands Office was one investigated after the arrival of Sir John Harvey, that of the sale of 1,500 acres of land to Captain Eccles. It was divided into thirteen tracts in different parts of the province, "consisting of narrow strips with extensive fronts on the rivers, often embracing both sides of the stream, containing three islands and several mill privileges and other desirable sites." A part of the grant was resold to Beckwith, chief clerk in Baillie's office. P.A.C., C.O. 188, Harvey to Glenelg with enclosure, Aug. 18, 1837.

<sup>18</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 188, Campbell to Stanley, Jan. 7, 1834.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Harvey to Glenelg, June 29, 1837.

<sup>20</sup>P.A.C., Council Enclosures, 1834-6, Memorial of Lombard.

the introduction of American capital was Moses H. Perley, a Saint John barrister of talent and energy, whose largest single enterprise was the Lancaster Milling Corporation at Musquash on the Fundy coast.<sup>21</sup> So quick was the swing of opinion in favour of American participation that Sir John Harvey, the lieutenant-governor, was willing, in the negotiations concerning the disputed territory, to concede to the United States the right of driving timber down the St. John.<sup>22</sup> The timber interests could visualize an increase in the value of property along the banks of the river. Fredericton would become an *entrepôt* for the Maine hinterland and Saint John the port of export. But these sanguine hopes were dashed by the general failure of American banks in 1837, the drying up of all credit, both real and fictitious, and the failure of many of the companies to complete their instalment payments on the purchase of land.

Baillie himself could claim credit for the largest purchase of all. In 1831 he went to England in affliction for the loss of his first wife. But he spent a great deal of time at the Colonial Office; and he also had time to interest a number of London merchants, headed by John Labouchere, the brother of the undersecretary for the colonies, in the possibilities of speculation in colonial lands. The result was the formation of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotian Land Company which purchased in 1834 500,000 acres of land in York County along the northern boundary of the parish of Queensbury. Mr. Secretary Stanley, in return for his beneficent services, was honoured by the selection of his name for the first settlement which resulted. Fishermen from Skye, who were failures, and English and Scotch borderers who were successful, constituted the new settlement. Kendall, the agent of the Company, became a source of additional strength to Baillie. The Royal Road to Stanley was built by the government and ultimately pushed through to Grand Falls, producing an increased value for the Company's holdings. The petition of the legislature in 1832, offering a fixed civil list in exchange for the surrender of the casual and territorial revenue, came at a time when the Colonial Office was negotiating with the newly-formed Land Company and when the activity of other speculators was beginning to jeopardize the position of those engaged in the timber trade.

The 1833 brief which Charles Simonds and E. B. Chandler took to England, serves as an excellent catalogue of the grievances of the mercantile interests in New Brunswick at this period. Stanley

<sup>21</sup>P.A.C., Council Minutes, Feb. 13, 1836, with memorial of Perley.

<sup>22</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 188, Harvey to Glenelg, Sept. 11, 1838.

reduced it to eight essential points. Of these, seven are concerned with Crown Lands and timber and best illustrate the nature of Baillie's administration.

The most specific of the complaints was directed against the timber monopolies of Joseph Cunard who in 1830 had been granted reserved rights to all the timber above the falls of the northwest Miramichi. In the following two years these rights had been extended to the Nipisiguit for a period of ten years' duration.<sup>23</sup> The effect was to drive the independent operators into the more inaccessible regions of the north or to draw them into the coils of Cunard's commercial empire. The brawling timbermen of Bathurst and the Miramichi indulged in a series of disorderly meetings; and petitions were presented to both the provincial and imperial authorities.<sup>24</sup> Alexander Rankine, who had at first joined in the policy of monopoly and had received favours from Baillie but later abandoned them because of public clamour, appeared as the champion of the independent men and accompanied the delegation to London, threatening to withdraw his firm and its large investments of capital from the province. Baillie's plea in defence was that it best suited the interests of the Crown to deal with larger operators who possessed capital, that capital was necessary to construct sluices around the falls of rivers and for the removal of obstacles in their beds, and that he could not with confidence deal with the smaller operator. But since Cunard himself had not carried out two of the conditions of the monopoly—the sluicing of the Miramichi falls and the removal of rocks from the bed of the Nipisiguit—there came from Stanley a gentle instruction to the effect that Mr. Cunard must yield his reserves.<sup>25</sup>

Highly characteristic of problems of the timber trade was that of water-lots or of what Baillie preferred to call wharf-lots. In 1802 the pre-Loyalist firm of Simonds, White, and Hazen had obtained property rights over their extensive water-front in Saint John harbour to low watermark and had established a precedent which other merchants might seek to emulate. They were able to interfere with the seagoing activities of other firms, to stop the

<sup>23</sup>The documents relative to Cunard's monopolies are to be found in the Minutes of the Executive Council, 1833.

<sup>24</sup>One of the most downright of the many violent memorials against Baillie was that of Hugh Munro, dated from Bathurst, Dec. 17, 1832: "If we can turn our eyes to the more than Siberian tyranny by which this land has been polluted these twelve years past, and hear the screaming yells of tribes of oppressed lumbermen to attest the fact from every quarter that a pine tree was manufactured in the Province, the poor emigrant and resident bartering for a location and the widow and orphan bringing up the rear, supplicating this demagogue, all this is no credit to our boasted freedom and from its character must be a stranger to our constitution."

<sup>25</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 189, Stanley to Campbell, Aug. 17, 1833.



casual activities of fishermen, and to halt the driving of timber and the erection of booms in front of their highly advantageous location. The case had been a source of ceaseless irritation to the Common Council of Saint John.<sup>26</sup> But it was a very notable exception to the usual terms of land-grants which were limited at high watermark. Baillie seized this excellent opportunity of adding to the casual revenue. Merchants whose lands were bounded by seas and rivers, he said, certainly could make use of the water in front of their properties. But they had no right to erect wharves, dams, and booms on those same waters. Thereupon, he proceeded to sell at auction the "wharf-lots" in front of the properties of merchants of the timber communities on the Miramichi and the Restigouche and at Bathurst. He sold what had been known as the Public Landing at St. Stephen. Men who had long been established in such locations were compelled to pay high prices for the privilege of preventing others from blocking their access to the vital sea or river-front.

Charles Simonds, a scion of the firm so closely involved in the controversy, placed the matter so forcefully before Stanley during the London interviews that he yielded completely on the point. It would be best, he instructed Campbell, to quiet the apprehensions of owners of land by making low watermark the boundary of all existing grants. The law officers of the Crown would draft a bill and send it to New Brunswick. Later he was compelled to retract. The law officers could not contrive to draft a bill which would both protect the water-rights of property-holders and at the same time guarantee the uninterrupted navigation of rivers.

The remaining complaints, all pointing to the desirability of surrendering the Crown Lands to the charge of the legislature, may be summarized in the allegation that Baillie had "more power than a British subject should possess." His deputy-surveyors, whom he now called rangers but whom the *Courier* designated "harpies," had the trade under rigid control. In order to pay for the increased establishment he had created, he imposed in 1831, contrary to the cautions of Campbell and the Colonial Office, an extra stumpage duty of 3*d.* on the ton, making the total 1*s.* 3*d.* This extra charge, categorically described in the *Courier* as the Secret Service Fund, in addition to increasing overhead costs in the trade, enabled Baillie still further to enlarge his administrative machinery, the weight of which told more and more heavily.

<sup>26</sup>See Baillie, *Observations on the Evidence Brought before the Committee on Grievances* (Fredericton, 1833).



Cases of imposition of double duty for unlicensed cutting became more frequent. There were multiplying cases of unfair charges, of carelessness in laying out the timber berths, of malpractice in the Land Office at Fredericton. Baillie defended himself by drawing comparisons with charges upon the timbermen of Maine where both the price of land and tonnage duty were three to four times higher than in New Brunswick. Why could not the lumbermen of New Brunswick, with the advantage of magnificent rivers as conveyors of their products, pay prices equal to those of Maine? A perhaps more pointed retort was that a single tree, 24 inches in diameter, would pay for the acre of land on which it stood.

The 1833 brief resulted in the breaking of Cunard's monopoly and other secondary gains for the legislature. But on the essential issue, the surrender of the Crown Lands, the principle of which the Colonial Office had long been willing to accept, nothing was accomplished. The negotiations had broken down on the question of whether or not the payments of the Land Company should be included in the surrender. Simonds and Chandler were informed that the complaints against Baillie were really directed against the policies he had been instructed to enforce. But the issue was firmly drawn. For the next four years, two political parties of fixed conviction contended in New Brunswick. In power there were Odell and Baillie, with the close support of Peters and Street, and with a following who benefitted by their patronage. About Fredericton and throughout York County they were firmly entrenched. On the Miramichi they could count on the serried mass of Cunard's dependents. They were called the "official" party but the word Tory appears to have been used only rarely. The family relationship between Odell and Baillie was the only justification for the use of the term "Family Compact" which, with much greater accuracy, could have been applied to the leaders of the Opposition. The drawing-rooms of Government House were available for their councils-of-war; and the dispatches of Campbell, ringing with contempt for the merchant-democrats of the legislature, reveal how completely he was subject to their influence.

Of the Opposition, the merchants of Saint John constituted the backbone. As older men were removed by death, Charles Simonds, the leader of the mercantile community in the seaport city and the speaker of the legislature, grew in stature as leader of the popular front. His support throughout the province was general. Of democratic sentiment but of dictatorial methods, attempting to preserve the monopoly of the Bank of New Brunswick at Saint

John while breaking Baillie's monopoly at Fredericton, a member of the Church of England who could with propriety preside over Wesleyan meetings, Simonds was an outstanding representative of a familiar type, a politically-minded merchant who could identify public good with private gain. He marshalled the majority of the legislature with firmness; and recalcitrant members were frequently threatened with expulsion. As the struggle came to a close, he secured the moral backing of the younger Ward Chipman, the chief justice, who as an elder statesman exerted great influence from the presidency of the Legislative Council. In the legislature there was a familiar cry, that no official should receive a salary greater than that of the chief justice.

Simonds profited enormously by two omissions of the "official" party. They failed to contest seats in the legislature; and they failed to establish a press which could influence public opinion until it was too late.<sup>27</sup> The *Courier*, in violent weekly articles, was concentrating attention upon the exclusive, arbitrary, and irresponsible proceedings of the Government. As rival to the literary achievements of Howe in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick can offer only the weekly wit of John Gape, who poked fun at the mistakes, delays, and incapacities of Baillie and his minions of the Land Office.<sup>28</sup> It was the literature of revolt couched in the plain politics of the woods.

The mounting barrage of invective, directed against Baillie and managed by Simonds from his position as generalissimo of the legislature, required outside assistance before the final victory could be won. It was events in Upper Canada which supplied the leverage. The 1835 instructions to Sir Francis Head, published in the Toronto press and eagerly scanned in New Brunswick, together with what seemed the clear determination of Glenelg to pacify the North American colonies, inspired the legislative delegation of 1836. William Crane, a wealthy merchant of Westmoreland County, and Lemuel Allan Wilmot, that prodigious young man of thirty whose five-hour declamations could thrill and enchain the legislature, were sent to London.

The events from midyear, 1836 to July, 1837 are too crowded and detailed to record here. Campbell received instructions to yield on the demand of the legislature. "Considerations applying

<sup>27</sup>The *St. John Weekly Chronicle*, published by Lewis W. Durant, was not established until 1836.

<sup>28</sup>The writer of the John Gape articles was Robert Gowan, a Scot who came to Fredericton in 1820 as a drummer-boy in the 74th Regiment. At the time the articles were written he was an accountant in the Central Bank at Fredericton.

not only to New Brunswick but also to the other British North American Provinces also require that no time be lost in giving general publicity to the proposals which you are authorized to make. It is my wish that no needless reserve be practiced on this occasion."<sup>29</sup> Drafts of three bills to transfer the Crown Lands to legislative control, in return for a permanent civil list of £14,500, were sent from England. The legislature assembled on December 20, 1836. But Campbell, obstinate and frigid though the tide was running so strongly against him, refused assent to the enacted bills. His principal excuse was that no suspensory clause, reserving the acts for the royal pleasure, had been added. There were other reasons which seem trivial in view of the great issues involved, but which were important in protecting the interests of office-holders. Amid a blaze of vituperation from both sides, the legislature was prorogued on March 5, 1837. New petitions were drafted, one asking for Campbell's recall. Crane and Wilmot re-embarked for England. In the days of the Government's defeat and discomfort, its strong man was George Frederick Street, the solicitor-general, who pursued the delegation to Whitehall to tell Campbell's side of the story. He did not hesitate to challenge the right of the Crown to alienate its domain,<sup>30</sup> a cause which the exponents of the prerogative had twenty years before abandoned in Britain. But the charge of the Opposition, that Campbell was playing for time in hopes that the Melbourne Government would fall, seems a reasonable one.

In that difficult year of 1837, Glenelg was determined that there should be one contented province in British North America. Upon their arrival at London, Crane and Wilmot had no necessity for protest. The "misunderstandings" and "painful position" of Sir Archibald Campbell, whose resignation was received as they reached London, were righted by the appointment of Sir John Harvey who was yearning for a wider field of endeavour on Prince Edward Island. His instructions rendered certain the triumph of the legislature.

No lieutenant-governor ever came to a province more certain of his line of duty than Sir John Harvey when he came to New Brunswick. As Sir Colin Campbell wrote from Halifax, it was all "cut and ready" for him.<sup>31</sup> Wilmot was on his way back from London, bearing the palm of final victory for the legislature and

<sup>29</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 189, Glenelg to Campbell, Sept. 10, 1836.

<sup>30</sup>Later in the summer Street was accused of being the author of a mischievous article in the *Chronicle* which asserted that the surrender of the Crown Lands had become invalid owing to the death of William IV.

<sup>31</sup>P.A.C., Letter-book of Sir John Harvey, Campbell to Harvey, May 17, 1837.

with the promise of a commission as king's counsel for himself. Crane, certain of the quick passing of the contentious bills, had lingered behind to contemplate the wonders of railways and steam navigation. When he was tossed from the top of an overturned coach to suffer brain concussion and a broken arm the compassion of Glenelg, who seems to have genuinely admired these representatives of New Brunswick democracy, arranged for him superior accommodation in a London nursing home. Harvey was a sanguine individual, ever prepared "intelligently to anticipate his instructions." He was a Whig appointee, and he identified the aspirations of the colonial reformers with those of the Whigs in Britain. His very brief residence on Prince Edward Island had persuaded him of the justice of escheat of the lands of non-resident proprietors. On his journey to Fredericton, instead of taking the Miramichi route as first intended, he came by Shediac-Saint John. Two days at Saint John commenced an affinity with Simonds which strengthened throughout his administration. Upon arrival at Fredericton, he did not hesitate to call the legislature for July 6, earlier than his instructions permitted, overcoming the "constitutional" scruples of Odell and Baillie, "owing to the state of public excitement."<sup>32</sup>

This summer of 1837, ominous for the future of British North America, transformed New Brunswick from one of the most difficult provinces to that of the most contented. The Civil List Bill became law and the Crown Lands subject to legislative control. Without waiting for the Royal Mandamus, Harvey called to the Executive Council Simonds, Hugh Johnston, and George Shore from the "popular party." Baillie was systematically degraded. A committee of the reformed Council administered the Crown Lands and to this Committee he became a simple instrument, losing his post as commissioner, his seat on the Council, and suffering a one-third reduction in salary. For the next five years he was the victim of an inquisition, the details of which are not relevant here. Later in the year Odell offered his resignation from the Executive Council but it was finally rejected. The provincial secretary was regarded as too valuable a depository of local knowledge. George Frederick Street, taking a lawyer's objection to Harvey's summary methods of liberalizing the Council, resigned his seat.<sup>33</sup>

The victory of 1837 made remaining discontents seem of

<sup>32</sup>P.A.C., C.O. 188, Harvey to Glenelg, June 1, 1837.

<sup>33</sup>P.A.C., Council Minutes, Aug. 19, 1837.

trifling importance. For it inaugurated the rule of victorious timber-barons who held the seats of an all-powerful legislature. When Harvey transmitted the Blue Book early in 1838 he could honestly declare that it would be vain to search for grievances in New Brunswick. During the excitement of the winter, as the Queen's troops had moved up the St. John Valley to Canada, the legislature had voted a grant to enable him to raise 1,200 volunteers for service in any part of America; and festivities had rung with toasts to the gallant militia of Upper Canada. Signal proofs of loyalty had not been wanting.

Men who had gained so complete a victory, who had at their disposal a new source of vast revenue, were not disposed to accept with equanimity the advent of new constitutions. When Harvey came to New Brunswick in 1837, the surplus of the casual revenue was £153,700. When he left in 1841 it was gone and the province was quickly slipping into debt. Under these lush conditions Simonds and his fellow delegates went to Quebec in 1838 and assured Durham that all cause of friction between Crown and people had been removed. Durham was so enthused that he could write that "the constitutional principle had been, in fact, fully carried into effect in this province; the Government had been taken out of the hands of those who could not attain the assent of a majority in the Assembly, and placed in the hands of those who possessed its confidence."<sup>34</sup>

The constitutional principle may have been put into effect. New Brunswick unquestionably gained a long start over the other provinces in the movement towards responsible government. But responsible government had not come. For the plain men of the New Brunswick legislature, who had won out in the battle of the timber-trade, perceived one thing as they contemplated complete conformity with the British practice of government. Further progress towards responsible government, whatever it meant, included surrender of the initiative of money grants into the hands of a departmental executive. It meant partial surrender of control over the 14 million acres which they had so recently acquired for themselves. Here we have the explanation of the incoherent reception to the resolutions of Lemuel Allan Wilmot in 1840. That chapter in New Brunswick history, therefore, which might have corresponded with the story of Baldwin and Lafontaine in Canada, must be called the struggle for the initiative. The party which won the smashing triumph for reform in 1837 in large part

<sup>34</sup>*Durham Report* (London, 1839), 69.

became the reactionary party; and the final goal of responsible government was obscured for nearly twenty years amid the rivalries of parochial politics. The merchant politicians who held seats in an all-powerful legislature were not disposed to surrender direct control of the rich prize which they had won to the executive, whether the executive possessed their confidence or not.

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## THE PINE FORT ON THE ASSINIBOINE RIVER

ONE of the worthwhile publications dealing with the early history of Manitoba is a paper by the late Dr. David A. Stewart, entitled "Early Assiniboine Trading Posts of the Souris-mouth Group, 1785-1832."<sup>1</sup> This was a highly commendable effort and further studies along similar lines would be welcome. In his introductory note, Dr. Stewart states: "My conclusions are not all quite final, even to myself." Knowing how sincerely he held that opinion, I feel free to suggest some possible correction. Since the present writer has not visited the old fort sites at the mouth of the Souris River, comment will be confined to the Pine Fort, the site of which lies about eighteen miles overland down the Assiniboine River, and the exact location of which has been the subject of this investigation.

On page eight of the publication referred to above, Dr. Stewart states that the Pine Fort in "modern terms" is located on the northeast quarter of Section 36, in Township 8, Range 14 West; in this, he is following the legal description of the site as given in Tyrrell's notes.<sup>2</sup> On the same page he refers to Mr. J. C. Snart as the owner of the land and mentions human bones and a copper kettle as having been washed out of the river bank. When the writer visited the Pine Fort locality in 1940, he called on Mr. Snart who kindly took us to the supposed site of the fort. Doubt as to the correct location immediately arose for two reasons. First, Mr. Snart does not own the N.E. 36-8-14 W.; and secondly, the site chosen by Dr. Stewart is not on the N.E. of 36-8-14 W., as stated by Tyrrell, but south and west up the river more than half a mile.

This doubt stimulated investigation. A careful reconnaissance survey of the Stewart location was made during the summers of 1940 and 1941, followed by test excavation. The evidence gathered seemed to indicate that the location chosen by Dr. Stewart was an old Indian encampment, with a certain amount of white contact material such as the copper kettle and human bones referred to by Dr. Stewart. Artifacts of flint, bone tools, flakes of flint, and broken bison bones are scattered over the area, and are definite

<sup>1</sup>David A. Stewart, "Early Assiniboine Trading Posts of the Souris-mouth Group, 1785-1832" (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Transaction no. 5*, new series, July, 1930).

<sup>2</sup>J. B. Tyrrell's notes on the Souris-mouth forts were the result of observations made during a journey down the Assiniboine River in the summer of 1890. They are printed as Appendix 3 in Stewart's "Early Assiniboine Trading Posts," 36-8.



evidence of Indian occupancy.<sup>3</sup> Every effort was made to fit the Stewart location into the excellent topographical description of the Pine Fort site given by Tyrrell, but little if any resemblance could be detected. Tyrrell's "wagon trail" running "down to the river" could never have existed on the terrain sixty yards west of the Stewart location. This is wild, steep, and rough and is the location of Stewart's "Mindy's Stream" which Tyrrell does not even mention.

The negative evidence of this survey led to an examination of the north bank of the river as it flows through the N.E. of 36-8-14 W. The old wagon trail running down to the river was found. It leads to an old ford used to cross the Assiniboine before the establishment of the ferry. Sixty yards east of the trail there is evidence of human habitation. A pile of stones, deeply submerged, suggests one of the old chimneys. Excavation revealed burnt clay, charred bones, and fragments of old iron. Tyrrell's topographical description fitted this location with amazing accuracy even in 1940. The "sand and gravel bar" extended out to the edge of the "shallow river" and the "small low islands" were just above the site. It is about a mile west of the mouth of Pine Creek, and the plain on which Tyrrell camped on July 10, 1890 lies a few hundred yards to the east.

The writer of this note, like Dr. Stewart, does not consider that the suggested corrections made above are final. I do, however, think that the descriptions, both legal and topographical, given by Tyrrell, the great Canadian surveyor, geologist, geographer, and historian, cannot be lightly cast aside. The possibility of more than one fort in the area is suggested by A. S. Morton in his *History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, p. 340. Local residents claim to know of such an additional site on the south bank of the river.

Dr. Stewart's dates for the occupancy of the Pine Fort (1785-93) need revision. Morton has pointed out that the Pine Fort was built in 1768 by the Pedlars: Forrest Oakes, Charles Boyer, Joseph Fulton, and Peter Pangman.<sup>4</sup> It was likely occupied by various Pedlars until the North West Company took over in 1785. Between the years 1785 and 1794 the Pine Fort and Fort Espérance on the Qu'Appelle River were the principle prairie posts of the

<sup>3</sup>Archaeological excavations on the Stewart location by the Historical Society of Manitoba during 1948 confirm this. The old camp site has been named the Snart Site. It is historic, and was likely occupied by the Assiniboine Indians during the Pine Fort period, 1768-94.

<sup>4</sup>A. S. Morton, "Forrest Oakes, Charles Boyer, Joseph Fuller, and Peter Pangman" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1937, sec. 2).



Nor'westers, the source of some furs and great quantities of pemmican. After the building of the forts at the mouth of the Souris River in the autumn of 1793, the Pine Fort was abandoned in 1794.<sup>5</sup> Larocque, who was in charge of the Nor'westers' Fort La Souris in 1806-7, states in his *Journal* that the Pine Fort was re-established in the spring of 1807.<sup>6</sup> How long the re-established fort was occupied is unknown, but the period was likely brief.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (London, Toronto, n.d.), 433.

<sup>6</sup>*Journal de Larocque (François Antoine) de la Rivière Assiniboine jusqu' La Rivière "Aux Roches Jaunes."* Translated from the original English by L. J. Burpee, F.R.G.S., 1911.

<sup>7</sup>Ernest Voorts, *Canadian Historic Forts and Trading Posts* (multigraphed, 1936) mentions re-occupancy in 1821, but does not give the source of information.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900: A Study in Historical Background.* By KATHERINE F. C. MAC-NAUGHTON. Edited with an introduction by ALFRED G. BAILEY. With a foreword by MILTON F. GREGG. (University of New Brunswick Historical Studies, no. 1.) Fredericton: University of New Brunswick. 1947. Pp. xvii, 268.

THIS is the first of a series of Historical Studies which the editor and director, Dr. Bailey, professor of history at the University of New Brunswick, modestly designates "adventures in national self-discovery." The author is an experienced teacher who used a fellowship at the University of New Brunswick and two years' leave of absence from her Campbellton school for the "writing of this master's essay." If this represents the sort of research that goes into a master's thesis at the University of New Brunswick or into this new series of studies, some valuable reinforcements may soon be expected in the field of Canadian scholarship.

Miss MacNaughton's study is the result not only of detailed research but of trained pedagogical insight and discrimination. The detail, to be sure, sometimes obscures the theme, but the old aphorism about the forest and the trees is scarcely warranted in this case, for the true story of education in New Brunswick is a tangled thicket at best, and no amount of artistry could turn it into a park. The evidence is examined with ruthless realism, and conclusions are stated with modesty approaching at times to self-depreciation. This applies to theme as well as treatment. The deference shown to the educational standards of neighbouring provinces and states, like Miss MacNaughton's own veneration at times for secondary authorities, may not always be warranted.

The technical outline of education in New Brunswick has been attempted in other theses, but Miss MacNaughton succeeds for the first time in supplying its historical setting—the phlegmatic temper, the unquestioning loyalties, the pragmatic conservatism and economic vicissitudes of New Brunswick. The first half-century of the story is dominated by the pattern of tory life in the old colonies. The second half-century, inspired by an expanding economy, brings the attainment of a Board of Education, a Normal School for the training of teachers, an adequate inspectorate, and at last a comprehensive system of common public schools in 1871. The third half-century has reflected modern trends in education worked out with characteristic conservatism in a political setting of compromise and moderation. This theme Miss MacNaughton has traced with unflinching fidelity. It is a story in which parsimony and frustration all too often predominate. Sometimes, as in the first period, the author's fine sense of justice may lead her to underrate the cultural standards of the privileged circles which she deprecates. Seldom has she permitted the traditions of great and scholarly teachers—and there were many of them who survived imperishably in the lives of younger men—to relieve the impersonal aspects of her theme. But this is no dull impersonal record. Miss MacNaughton's sense of humour breaks through in discussing such topics as the hard-bitten thrift of the legislature or the place of women in pedagogy and politics. When Martha Lewis was admitted, by order-in-council in 1849, to Duval's Training School for teachers, she was required to wear a veil, to enter ten minutes early, to sit alone, and to leave without speaking to the male students. Within three years the women outnumbered the men, "and never afterwards did

female students lose their ascendancy." A place on boards of trustees and at the polls was harder to win. Even Blair and Hazen feared that women might gain their rights and lose their privileges.

During the first half-century under review the priority given to grammar school and academy and college for the select few was in keeping with the whole loyalist background of the province. There were more than 200 graduates of Harvard among the "Nova Scotia" loyalists, and though the contacts with New England were quickly resumed—the son of Ward Chipman himself was valedictorian of his class at Harvard—the only hope for loyalism seemed to be sanctuaries of their own for the old order. A memorial for an academy at Fredericton antedates the meeting of the first Assembly. It is not by chance that the two oldest colleges in English-speaking Canada arose out of these stubborn loyalties. Despite the affectations of gentility they kept alive the sacred fire, and despite "class and church" perhaps even the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Schools deserve more than the very faint praise Miss MacNaughton bestows upon them (p. 46). But the habit of "waiting upon Providence" for outside help stood in strong contrast to the methodical resourcefulness of New England. As late as 1848 Sir Edmund Head had a true word to say about this phlegmatic temper of New Brunswick: they were "shrewd and sharp enough but they have habitually relied upon the government."

The central period was more creative and it owed not a little to the stimulus of economic prosperity. Sir Howard Douglas, who could be snobbish enough in refusing to travel by the river-boats of that day, tried in vain to have the "commercial interests" of Saint John represented in the executive council: there was "no precedent for such a procedure." But the timber trade, ruinous though it may have been to sound diversified farming in New Brunswick, did produce revenues. Between 1811 and 1816 the revenue doubled almost every year, and it was in 1816 that county grammar schools like those already functioning in Saint John were endowed and transferred from the supervision of incompetent justices of the peace to boards of trustees. By 1836 the land office had accumulated a tidy surplus of £150,000. When at last the Assembly got control of this windfall they squandered it with characteristic recklessness, but it is suggestive that out of this period came the great reforms of 1847-54—a central Board of Education, a Normal School for the training of teachers, a superintendent of education, an adequate system of inspection, and an attempt to reintroduce the assessment system. Miss MacNaughton has a tribute here to the lieutenant-governors of the day—to Smythe ("stiff pedantic old thing" Penelope Winslow called him) and Douglas and Harvey and Colebrooke whose letter-books she has explored to excellent purpose. One misses the same enthusiasm however about Sir Edmund Head, who was himself the son of a loyalist and afterwards not only governor-general in "Canada" but governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Head's cold analytical mind played for nearly a decade and a half upon the gravest problems of British North America, and he left his stamp upon them all. His own academic background at Oxford must have predisposed him towards those educational reforms in New Brunswick which came to fruition there under his administration (1847-1854). Nobody has succeeded as yet in clothing Head's mercurial intellect with flesh and blood, but one could wish that Miss MacNaughton had tried her hand at it. It was Head who brought Egerton Ryerson from "Canada" and William Dawson from Nova Scotia to act on the commission for the reorganization of King's College into the University of New Brunswick. *The Development of Higher Education in New Brunswick*, it may be noted, is to be the theme of the second volume of the University of New Brunswick's Historical Studies.

The "polished and cosmopolitan" figure of Baron d'Avray—Marshall d'Avray, as he chose to be known in New Brunswick—emerges in much clearer outline (pp. 121 ff.). As the founder of the Normal School, superintendent of education, and eventually professor of modern languages at King's and the University of New Brunswick, d'Avray held "views which, in intelligence and vision, were far in advance of his time." His associations with George Roberts of the Academy and his feud with John Gregory were alike characteristic of that era of "ferment." Like the admirable outline of the Madras "monitorial" system during the earlier period (pp. 67 ff.) this is one of the most interesting chapters of the whole study.

With the Common Schools Act of 1871 which Miss MacNaughton traces in great detail in both press and legislature, education in New Brunswick entered its modern phase of development. For many years Theodore Rand with his *Educational Circular* played much the same role as d'Avray for the earlier reforms. Here again was a "character" that one would like to see recaptured for posterity. The New Brunswick "school question" with its sensible compromises and accommodations escaped many of the asperities that were to be found later on in Manitoba and Ontario. The problems of bilingualism too are outlined with admirable fairness: the generous spirit of the majority was easily understood (Miss MacNaughton observes) towards a "minority sensible enough to display a pleasing combination of dignity and modesty."

In the concluding chapter the defects of provincial education for "the age of science and democracy" are explored in the same spirit of realism and discrimination. New Brunswick seldom blazed new trails but on the other hand the readiness to learn, without false pride, from its neighbours saved the province from many "hasty experiments, fads and extremes." The study closes with the modest resolve that the prestige which the New Brunswick system enjoyed at various stages of its history, in Britain, in New England, and as far afield as South Africa (the principal of the Normal School and a corps of New Brunswick teachers were requisitioned to lay the foundations of the school system after the South African War) must not be allowed to suffuse "the accurate picture of actual conditions and practices." "Societies that attempt to remain static inevitably perish."

The want of an index is only partially met by a very detailed table of contents. Venerable names of great schoolmasters like Roberts, Parkin, and Bridges have survived in the traditions of New Brunswick. These and many others deserve a place in the social history of the Maritime Provinces.

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#### RECENT WRITINGS ON THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

- Douglas of the Fir: A Biography of David Douglas, Botanist.* By ATHELSTAN GEORGE HARVEY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1947. Pp. x, 290. (\$5.00)
- Fort Langley: Outpost of Empire.* By B. A. McKELVIE. Frontispiece by GEORGE H. SOUTHWELL. Decorations by C. P. CONNORTON. Vancouver, B.C.: Vancouver Daily Province. 1947. Pp. xii, 98.
- The Purcell Range of British Columbia.* By J. MONROE THORINGTON. New York: American Alpine Club. 1946. Pp. 152. (\$2.50)
- Stern-Wheelers up Columbia: A Century of Steamboating in the Oregon Country.* By RANDALL V. MILLS. Palo Alto, Cal.: Pacific Books. 1947. Pp. x, 212. (\$3.75)

THESE four volumes all deal with the Pacific Northwest and, in whole or in part, with British Columbia. They are written from diverse points of view. *Douglas of the Fir* is a very careful and illuminating biography of David Douglas the botanist, after whom the Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga Douglasii*) was named. *Fort Langley, Outpost of Empire*, although based on extensive knowledge, reading, and research, is obviously intended for popular consumption. *The Purcell Range of British Columbia*, on the other hand, was written for mountain climbers and scientists. *Stern-Wheelers up the Columbia* is a colourful story which will be of interest both to the historian and the general reader. Each of the authors has something definite to offer to the public and he has done his work carefully and well.

Mr. Athelstan George Harvey, a Vancouver barrister who is devoted to the history of British Columbia, tells in his preface to *Douglas of the Fir* that for many years he thought that the tree was named for Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., the well-known governor of British Columbia. It came as a shock to him to learn that it was named after David Douglas. His interest in David Douglas was aroused and he "hunted up material that had not been published and other material that had been published and forgotten." With that thoroughness and painstaking care which characterizes his writings, Mr. Harvey has traced the story of David Douglas (1799-1834) from his rather obscure beginnings in Scone, Scotland to a position in the Botanical Garden at Glasgow, then on to London in 1823 where he entered the employ of the Horticultural Society. The society at once sent him to eastern North America where he travelled in the United States and in Upper Canada. The next year he was sent by the society to the "Far West Coast" where he spent two years, 1825-7, in travel and botanical explorations. It was during this period that he discovered the Douglas fir. He returned to the Pacific coast in 1830 and travelled extensively in California for nineteen months. In 1832 he severed his connexions with the Horticultural Society of London when in the Hawaiian Islands on his way to the Columbia River. It is typical of the period that his best means of reaching the Columbia from California was by way of Hawaii. In 1833 he visited Puget Sound and then proceeded from Fort Vancouver to New Caledonia. He then travelled down the coast to California—the Hudson's Bay Company's men now having opened up an overland route—and went back to the Hawaiian Islands. There he met his untimely death, probably accidental, on July 9, 1834. He was buried in Honolulu. We owe Mr. Harvey a debt of gratitude for having given us the story of a distinguished but far too little-known botanist.

Mr. Bruce A. McKelvie is a well-known British Columbian journalist, who has a passion for the history of his native province. His *Fort Langley, Outpost of Empire* has been "a labour of love." *The Vancouver Daily Province*, with which Mr. McKelvie has been connected for many years, has published the volume "as a further contribution . . . to making known the historic background of Canadian citizenship." Not satisfied merely to reproduce the white men's records, Mr. McKelvie has drawn upon the native Indian tradition. He gives us, for example, the redman's story of the country of Simon Fraser and of the building of Fort Langley. In a vivid and at times exciting narrative, Mr. McKelvie has told of the fur trade on the lower Fraser River. He obtained much of his information from the late Mr. Jason Allard, the "Prince Jason" of the Cowichans, who remembered Fort Langley as it was when the fur traders still occupied it. The great figures of the fur trade—Simon Fraser, Sir George Simpson, Dr. John McLoughlin, and Sir James Douglas—seem to stalk through the volume, but Mr. McKelvie lingers almost lovingly over the lesser-known men—James MacMillan, Archibald McDonald, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, and, above all, James Murray Yale.

Dr. J. Monroe Thorington is an Alpinist who has climbed and explored extensively in the Purcell Range of British Columbia. His volume is based on sound research backed by personal observation and experience. Dr. Thorington carefully distinguishes the Purcell Range from the main body of the Selkirks. To him the Purcell Range is divided from the Selkirks by the Purcell Trench which "contains the northward flowing Beaver River, the south flowing Duncan River and Kootenay Lake." The volume is beautifully illustrated with striking photographs and contains many valuable maps. It is filled with interesting narratives of explorations, many of them undertaken by the author. There is a valuable bibliography and a useful index. In Appendix A, Dr. Thorington lists fifty-four peaks in the Purcell Range "attaining 10,000 feet."

The sub-title of *Stern-Wheelers up Columbia* is "A Century of Steamboating in the Oregon Country." It is an apt description of the volume which tells the story of navigation on the Columbia from the pioneer *S.S. Beaver* of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1836 to the launching of the stern-wheeler *Portland* on May 18, 1947. It is a fascinating narrative, well-told and well-illustrated by photographs, drawings, and maps. Unfortunately the first chapter, which deals with the early history of navigation along the Northwest coast, contains several unnecessary factual errors. There are also certain other interesting statements. British Columbians will be interested to read that Vancouver, B.C. is "a new Vancouver on the Sound." The northern limits of Puget Sound seem to be rather elastic! It is also difficult for anyone who has carefully perused the three volumes of McLaughlin's *Fort Vancouver Letters*, and especially Dr. W. K. Lamb's valuable introduction, to agree that Fort Vancouver had been an afterthought, established where it was because it centred the trade routes up the Columbia and along the Willamette and Cowlitz River, and still afforded easy connexion to the sea. Surely if ever a post was established with a purpose it was Fort Vancouver! But these few blemishes do not really detract to any great extent from this valuable volume. The reviewer is grateful that Mr. Mills does not stop his narrative at the International Boundary but includes steamboating in the Kootenays.

Each of these volumes, in its own way, makes a real contribution to the historiography of the Pacific Northwest. West coast historians seem to have a tendency in their researches to ignore the existence of the Forty-Ninth Parallel!

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*The Evolution of the Halifax Fortress, 1749-1928.* By HARRY PIERS. Edited, revised and completed by G. M. SELF with the assistance of PHYLLIS BLAKELEY, under the direction of D. C. HARVEY. (Publication No. 7.) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1947. Pp. xiv, 156. (\$2.00)

*Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories of Canada, 1885.* By General Sir FRED MIDDLETON. Edited, with introduction, by G. H. NEEDLER. (University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics series, vol. XI.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1948. Pp. xx, 80. (\$2.00, paper; \$2.50, cloth)

MR. HARRY PIERS, who for many years was curator of the Nova Scotia Provincial Museum, died in 1940, leaving unfinished this manuscript on the Halifax fortress. It has been carefully edited by the staff of the Nova Scotia Archives and published both for the sake of its own intrinsic worth and as a tribute to Mr. Piers. The task was well worth while; the little book's value can be judged from the fact that, in

spite of all the volumes that have been written about Quebec, there is nothing so good about that fortress. (That is a deficiency which the present writer hopes to supply, some day, after finishing one or two other little jobs.) A great deal of hard work, by both the author and his editors, has gone into it and is reflected in text, appendices, bibliography, and glossary. These afford, on the whole, a very adequate picture of the development of the fortress through the greater part of two centuries.

The study has two main weaknesses. First, although it ends with 1928 (a date which is of course far from marking the end of the development of the fortress), the official documentation—to some extent, inevitably—tails off in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the account of the last few decades is based on such unsatisfactory sources as personal recollections and newspaper stories. Secondly, Mr. Piers's approach was excessively local. Halifax stands up in an isolation more complete, if not more splendid, than Britain's ever was. There is no attempt to explain *why* the British government, in 1828, began to spend large sums of money on a citadel there, nor is there any account of the reasons for the great activity in the sixties. Piers apparently never heard of Colonel Jervois's reports on the defences of British North America (it is a pity that he could not extend his researches to Ottawa), and the American Civil War is not even mentioned! The book is not particularly well printed, and the one map, apparently a version of Mr. Piers's own, is rather inadequate. There are lapses in the glossary: "cordon," which occurs in the book in its architectural sense of "string-course," is defined merely as "a chain of military posts," and it is strange to read that for "shot-furnace" there is "no definition available."

It has similarly been a worth-while enterprise on the part of Professor Needler and the University of Toronto Press to make General Middleton's account of the North-West campaign of 1885 (originally published in the *United Service Magazine*, 1893-4) available to Canadian readers. The narrative is not basically very different from the General's official reports, but it is longer, more personal, and rather more outspoken. Of special interest is his description of Riel:

I found him a mild spoken and mild looking man, with a short brown beard and an uneasy frightened look about his eyes, which gradually disappeared as I talked to him. He had no coat on, and looked cold and forlorn, and as it was still chilly out of the sun I commenced proceedings by giving him a military great coat of my own. . . . After conversing with Riel a good deal for two days, I came to the conclusion that he was sane enough in general every-day subjects, but he was imbued with a strong, morbid religious feeling mingled with intense personal vanity.

The final attack at Batoche is one matter on which Middleton's two accounts differ fairly considerably. His report, dated May 31, 1885, says that on the evening of May 11 he decided to "peg away" until he took Batoche; this version of 1893 says, "that night I came to the conclusion that it was time to make our decisive attack," and the implication is that the successful attack of May 12 was planned that way. It would perhaps be safest to assume that the earlier version is the truer, and that Middleton was in fact pursuing opportunistic tactics, waiting for a break in the situation which would enable him to take the place with as few casualties as possible. The General gives an engagingly frank account of how he lost "both his temper and his head" during the final day's action.

Major Needler (he was Corporal Needler when he carried his Snider to Battleford with the Queen's Own Rifles in 1885) contributes a useful introduction and notes. He has clearly tried hard to be fair to his old commander, but it is equally clear that he has found it difficult; the prejudices of those times die slowly, and it is this reviewer's opinion that full justice has yet to be done to Middleton. The



General had two strikes on him before he ever came to bat: he was both an Englishman and a professional soldier, and was widely suspect in Canada on both counts. To overcome the natural disadvantages of his position, any English G.O.C. Canadian Militia had to combine exceptional ability with unusual tact and charm—in fact, he had to be a Brock or a Wolseley; and Middleton obviously was hardly that. He was, however, not the fool he has sometimes been made out to be, and it is time that Canadian historians stopped swallowing George T. Denison's *Soldiering in Canada* as a completely acceptable critique of the Saskatchewan campaign. Denison, an imperialist who worshipped England but found it singularly difficult to get on with Englishmen, was the flower of colonial sensitiveness and colonial prejudice, Victorian Toronto's natural hero; and his book throws at least as much light on the nineteenth-century Canadian mind as on the Canadian militia system.

The editor, like many another critic, resents Middleton's "preference for British 'regulars', or at least for those who had seen imperial service"; he feels that there was an element of snobbery in it (and indeed the General's reference to the "men of good birth" who served in French's Scouts makes the modern reader wince). Nevertheless, some of these criticisms are doubtful. The force with which Middleton had to win his little war was almost incredibly raw and green—any modern soldier would be horrified at the thought of having to use such troops to suppress anything larger than a poolroom brawl; and one can hardly blame him for making the greatest possible use of the very few trained and experienced professional officers whom he had to hand. They must have been particularly valuable in staff work, which the militia officers of that day had little opportunity of learning.

Introduction and notes contain a few minor errors. Sitting Bull was not in Canada in 1885 (p. xvi); he had gone back across the border four years before. "Bodyguard" should be "Body Guard" (p. 75). Francis Dickens's service in India was in the police, not the army (p. 76).

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*Church and Sect in Canada.* By S. D. CLARK. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 458. (\$4.75)

AFTER Halifax was founded in 1749 and New Englanders poured in to share the imperial spoils, it proved politic to give public assistance in building a meeting-house for Dissenters, as well as Anglican St. Paul's. The Dissenters' church, which was Congregational, came to be known as Mather's, to the great confusion of the English engraver, R. Short, who named it St. Mather's on the magnificent plates of Halifax which he cut at the end of the Seven Years' War. Then, when the War of American Independence made New England Congregationalism disreputable for the respectable burgher congregation, the church's name somehow became St. Matthew's and its creed Presbyterian. Meanwhile Henry Alline, the New Light evangelist, was shattering the less sedate Dissenting congregations of the Nova Scotian out-ports and back country into the rudiments of Baptist and Methodist societies which, after twenty or twenty-five years of joyful (and often antinomian) emotional fellowship, began to solidify from unco-ordinated sects into disciplined, propertied churches.

Professor Clark has brought together the variations on these Protestant themes

in all of what is now Canada from 1760 to 1900, from the New Lights to the Salvation Army—churches failing to satisfy the religious and social needs of the people, sects springing up to fill the vacuums, and the same sects either dwindling away or congealing into anti-sectarian churches, as settled ways and commercial values succeeded frontier conditions and eliminated some men's needs for the spiritual enhancement and warm brotherhood which accompanied the conviction that they belonged to an elect. He has written, not in religious terms, but with cool, respectful, sociological detachment. Indeed the contrast between his tone and that of the dozens of pious church chronicles upon which he has drawn carries with it a warning to his reader that he must subordinate his traditional religious and particularist feeling if he is to be able to understand the fascinating interplay of economic, political, and social forces. The Canadian sects of today are far more like the Baptists and Methodists of 1760 to 1830 than the business-like churches of their descendants. In transmitting this sense of cleavage and transformation through changing environments, *Church and Sect* is a pioneering work of great importance, a monumental mile-stone in Canadian historical writing beyond which particularist studies will seem inexcusable except in so far as they fill gaps in our knowledge and are adequately related to the edifices which Mr. Clark has erected.

The scope of the book embraces the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-83; the Great Revival in the Maritimes and Canada, and the break with American sectarianism, 1783-1832; conflicts of church and sect, and new sects on new frontiers, 1832-60; the rise of the territorial church, 1860-85; the Great Revival of the city, 1885-1900; and some apt generalizations by way of applying the historically-revealed pattern to the modern community. All the topics except the last are built upon masses of judiciously-selected, pungent, even dramatic, primary evidence. The amount of it gradually diminishes, since the period before 1832 occupies well over half the book, but the mere bulk of the source material used, even though it is broken up by volleys of short, often witty, declaratory sentences, is a heavy burden. The wordiness and repetitiveness of the first two-thirds of the book are to be excused because it is a pioneering enterprise whose unfamiliar and possibly repellent contents might be rejected by discountenanced readers were they not so amply substantiated and driven home. The recurrent patterns of behaviour are deeply impressed by the cumulative weight of what happened again and again in analogous places and times in Canada during a century and a half.

We need not quarrel over whether this is sociological history or historical sociology. The amount of professional terminology need not bother anyone seriously. Those who realize the conspicuous lack of revealing social history of Canada must be grateful for sociologist Clark's largesse, just as they were grateful when Miss Katherine MacNaughton wrote the social history of New Brunswick as the necessary setting for its educational history. Clark has given broad meaning to evidence which other historians have either ignored or, rather too often, used merely for dramatic seasoning. Some of his generalizations will seem too sweeping or too eclectic; his English rides rough-shod now and then; and there are occasional small errors. It might have been a good idea to leave out altogether the references to Roman Catholicism. Yet the book eclipses such defects so thoroughly that one comes away from its riches pondering such questions as: what proportion, and what kinds, of Canadians have been religious?; has the pulpit attracted the best men in terms of its function?; if so, when and where?; if not, why not?; in what circumstances are churches or sects likely to be economically or politically radical or conservative?

This is a book which should have had an ample topical table of contents

to help the reader who turns to it for reference or to extract some of its neat aphorisms. There is too much in it for memory and index to be adequate guides.

J. B. BREBNER

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*On Being Canadian.* By VINCENT MASSEY. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1948. Pp. xiv, 198. (\$3.00)

THIS is an interesting and useful book rather than an exciting or controversial one. Mr. Massey is one of Canada's few aristocrats in the English tradition. He has spent a good part of his adult life outside Canada, in the United States and Britain. He has represented Canada in the capitals of these two countries during important and difficult periods and he has had unusual opportunities to consider and examine his country and his countrymen in a detached and aloof sort of way. His contributions and service to Canada are many, varied, and distinguished and this book is further evidence of his interest in and concern for his country. His main purpose here is to give Canadians a sense of their own importance and uniqueness, so that they may have a greater sense of unity and a better conceit of themselves and of their country. He is convinced that Canadians have developed a national type or characteristic which distinguishes them from other peoples, and enables others to recognize them anywhere. He minimizes the differences between English- and French-speaking Canadians, emphasizes our part and place in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and acknowledges the importance of our relations with the United States. He touches briefly upon our history, our geography, our foreign policy, and our general social and cultural pattern. There is much in the book that most of us would commend and agree with. I, myself, was particularly interested in Chapter IV, "Threads in the Fabric of Unity," which stresses the importance of Canada's culture, institutions, the radio, the film, a national library, the universities, and such national symbols as a flag, a national anthem, and all the rest.

I am inclined to doubt the importance which he attaches to our membership, or more accurately non-membership in the Pan-American Union. Mr. Massey for many years has been opposed to such membership, but I do not believe it would make much difference in Canadian life or affairs. Certainly I agree with him that we are much more a part of the North Atlantic World than we are of Latin America. I am inclined to feel too, that he overemphasizes the importance of the British connexion and influence as contrasted with the American. I hope I am wrong and that Mr. Massey is right, for on the whole I prefer the British standards of value to the American, but I am increasingly impressed by the growing influence of American culture upon Canada and particularly upon young Canada. The movies, in which practically all of our young people spend a portion of each week, the radio programmes to which most of them listen, the magazines, the comic books, and the illustrated papers—these are the things which shape and mould young people—and most of these influences come from the United States. It is not without significance that the "bobby soxers" of Halifax ignored our prime minister in their pursuit of a minor movie star.

I feel too that he passes too lightly over our sectional, racial, and cultural differences, but I suspect that he does this intentionally, believing that by stressing the positive and constructive items or factors in our national life he can help to consolidate and cement our somewhat sketchy national unity. In any event, as I said at the outset, this book is a useful and constructive one, even if it is something

of a temptation to our more objective and critical scholars. Personally, I hope that Mr. Massey, now that he is home among us again, will continue to press for the realization and support of some of the practical measures that he mentions, for these are the kinds of thing which will help to balance American influences, and will make and keep us Canadian. I mean particularly our radio and film services, our national library, museum, and art gallery, support for our artists, our painters, and our writers, and a continuing interest in our educational system or systems at all of their various levels. By reason of his training, his temperament, and his experience he is probably better equipped to do this than any one else in Canada.

Part of this equipment is reflected in this book, for Mr. Massey writes with great facility and distinction.

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*Le Rapport de Durham.* Présenté, traduit et annoté par MARCEL-PIERRE HAMEL.  
Montréal: Éditions du Québec. 1948. Pp. 376. (\$3.25)

THE mere fact of the appearance of this book is probably more remarkable than anything which may be said concerning its content. The astonishment of the general public should equal the astonishment of the editor who, in the course of his research on the period of the patriots, found that the *Durham Report* had never been translated into French since 1839, the year of its publication. Then it was simply serialized in the issues of *Le Canadien* without notes and in what M. Hamel calls a "vocabulaire illisible." Since that time, so far as French Canadians are concerned, it has not been available to scholars except in standard editions in the English language. In 1888 Antoine Gerin-Lajoie remarked that the lack of an annotated French translation was regrettable but until now nobody has caught up the challenge.

The *Durham Report* is one of those great signposts in our history which steered Canadians of all racial extractions to eventual nationality along the lines of British constitutionalism. From M. Hamel's introductory remarks it would be fair to assume that this great fact has had no share in shaping the French-Canadian interpretation of their own history. But it is refreshing to read what he says concerning the unexplored mine of documentation which awaits the investigation of his fellow-scholars. "On retrouvait le nom de Durham dans tous les discours politiques." Here is perhaps a challenge to objectivity for French Canadians in their restless search for an explanation of their position within the Canadian Confederation. So impressed was M. Hamel with the consequence of *Durham* that he sacrificed his original project to the preparation of a translation of the *Report*, resigning himself to the work of a publicist rather than that of a historian.

But in spite of his self-imposed limitations M. Hamel has placed within his book a vast range of knowledge concerning the generation of the patriots. There is a "preface retrospective" by Etienne Parent, editor of *Le Canadien*, written in 1833, which well serves to introduce the reader to the situation as it was seen by a wise and restrained French Canadian of the day. In an introduction of some forty pages M. Hamel presents his own reflections upon the *Report*, seizing, as might be expected, upon those elements of it which French Canadians find so distasteful. For the scholar who seeks information, probably the notes constitute the most valuable part of the book. They are copious, precise, and moderate, revealing a thorough familiarity with French-Canadian opinion upon the issues of the time. Especially useful are frequent excerpts from *Le Canadien* and *Le Fantasque*. In

this respect the English-Canadian reader will find the book just as useful as will M. Hamel's compatriots.

In his introduction M. Hamel does justice to the conventional idea of the significance of the *Report*, citing it as a great document of British civilization, and pays due respect to Professor New and other authorities. But to the French Canadian the two great ideas which compose the substratum of the *Report*, those of Liberty and Empire, compose a hopeless inconsistency. M. Hamel perceives and exploits this with avidity. Durham had anticipated Russell, Gladstone, and Palmerston in doing lip-service to the doctrine of nationality. But in Canada his Liberal approach to purely constitutional problems was coupled with a most Tory and even Machiavellian proposal to destroy the French as a national and cultural group. The monstrous *bicéphale* of two legislative assemblies in a single state represented a betrayal of the interests of the Empire; and to these interests, considerations of Liberty, so far as the French were concerned, were subordinated.

It is not unnatural, perhaps, that M. Hamel should link the great proconsul with later shocks to the French-Canadian conscience. The reader may better assess the editor's reflections by reference to the fact that his original project was one on provincial autonomy. Durham is the intellectual ancestor of all our apostles of centralization. His shades were present in the 1864 proposals for legislative rather than federal union. As the author wrote in 1947, he could see the same ghoulis apparitions. Durham is dead but his soul goes marching on. "Durham fut pour nous un prophète de malheur." The allusions to the absorption of the French of Louisiana bear a terrible lesson for the French of Canada. "Nous ne serons jamais les assimilés de la Louisiane."

Today the crisis of conscience for French Canadians may be a severe one, but it is as nothing to that which confronted the men of 1837. M. Hamel has strictures for Papineau who advocated annexation to the United States. Even Parent, in "a terrible moment of weakness," bewildered by the seductions of British constitutionalism and American expansionism, wrote that the barriers must be smashed. For the French Canadians it would be a confession of folly to persist in remaining a race apart; they should unite with other vibrant social elements to form a great and powerful society on the banks of the St. Lawrence (p. 51).

On the cover of M. Hamel's book there is the somewhat sensitive super-scription: "C'est un peuple sans histoire et sans littérature." What has happened since those famous words were written must give us all pause. And, if we may conclude on a somewhat prayerful note, let us hope that the French-speaking public of Canada, as they receive M. Hamel's book, may perceive in the *Report* not only those strands of history which divide our two nationalities, but also those which have linked them to a single destiny.

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*The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche.* By WILLIAM FRANCIS GANONG. Reprinted from "Acadiensis," Saint John, N.B., vol. VII, nos. 1 and 2, 1907. Revised and enlarged from the author's manuscript notes. Edited by SUSAN BRITAIN GANONG. (Historical Studies no. 6.) Saint John, N.B.: New Brunswick Museum. 1948. Pp. vii, 62. (\$2.75)

THE late Dr. W. F. Ganong, one of Canada's great scholars, made many contributions to the history, physiography, and cartography of Eastern Canada. These are to be found in the transactions of learned societies and in other publications not available to the general public. Thus in the years 1906-8 he published a series of

researches relating to certain North Shore settlements of New Brunswick in a magazine *Acadiensis*, which has long since become extinct. Dr. Ganong died in 1941 and soon afterwards his sister, Dr. Susan B. Ganong, a prominent educationist, decided to edit and issue a number of her brother's buried publications so that they might be obtainable by readers at small cost. Thus far three small books have appeared, viz., *Ile Ste Croix* in 1945, *Miscou and Shippegan* in 1946, and the volume now under consideration in 1948, all under the sponsorship of the New Brunswick Museum.

In carrying on her work, Dr. Susan Ganong has been able to incorporate the many notes made by her brother during the years following the first issue of his researches; this was a practice adopted by him during his long career as a writer. These notitia now form part of the Ganong Collection bequeathed to the New Brunswick Museum, and are available to all research workers.

Of his series of *Acadiensis* monographs the most outstanding, perhaps, is that dealing with the Island in the Ste Croix River, because it was the site of the pioneer effort of the French under Monts and Champlain to establish European civilization on this continent. The other volumes are concerned with parts of the northeast coast of New Brunswick, which have no such historical importance, but they contain valuable records of individual and group-efforts in the establishment of settlements and in the development of social and economic standards of living, which indicate great advances from the primitive conditions of pioneer days. This volume is well illustrated, the original maps and plans, made by the author, being especially valuable adjuncts to the text.

Thus these North Shore publications of Dr. Ganong are valuable historical documents and important sources of information for the inhabitants and for scholars; they will also serve as guide-books for summer visitors, who now frequent the North Shore in ever-increasing numbers.

J. C. WEBSTER

Shediac, N.B.

*L'abbé H.-A. Verreau, éducateur, polémiste, historien.* By ARMAND YON. Préface de Mgr OLIVIER MAURALT. (Artisans de notre histoire.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1946. Pp. 208. (\$1.50)

THIS second volume of the series "Artisans de notre histoire" brings to public attention the figure of l'abbé Verreau, who for forty-five years (1857-1901) presided over the destinies of the Jacques-Cartier Normal School in Montreal, and who thus was in a position to wield a remarkable influence over the minds of several generations of teachers. Involved deeply in the controversy between "ultras" and "liberals" which shook French Canada as well as France in the latter nineteenth century, his inclinations were on the side of the latter. As his present biographer points out, l'abbé Verreau took the stand "... the world marches on, society alters, everything changes around us, ... In teaching he who does not advance appears to fall back. ..." He was hence an advocate of "modernization."

Yet at the same time he insisted that education in French Canada should be both "national" and "religious." However, his was not an extreme nationalism as one quotation will show. He said, "We are a distinctive people with our history, our language, our customs; but we must keep from looking down on others. If they have their defects we have our own; if we have interests to protect they cannot sacrifice theirs. All have an equal right to existence and to expansion, the 'English' as well as the 'Canadiens,' the Irish as well as the Americans. If we are not to be jealous of other nationalities we must however work to extend the influence



of our own." As for the religious element in education his view was that "Religion . . . must animate and crown all education and all instruction." This combination of restrained modernization coupled with a moderate but firm nationalism and an overall respect for religion is a traditional and deeply-entrenched view in French Canada to the creation of which l'abbé Verreau contributed significantly.

As a historian his work was mostly confined to the editing of original sources and to the publication of articles on the French régime. Both by his own writing and by his encouragement of others l'abbé Verreau strongly influenced the development of that deep interest in their own history which characterizes the French Canadians. His collection of documents and research notes is now deposited in the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec, and is one of the most valued parts of that important archives.

L'abbé Yon's account is divided into a brief biography, and an anthology from Verreau's writings. It is accompanied by a bibliography of Verreau's work prepared by Mlle G. Guérin.

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*The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946.* By GEORGE EDWARD LEVY. Saint John, N.B.: Barnes-Hopkins. 1946. Pp. xii, 336.

*The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia.* By MAURICE W. ARMSTRONG. (Studies in Church History, vol. VII, edited by MATTHEW SPINKA, et al. Prize essay of the Frank S. Brewer fund.) Hartford, Conn.: American Society of Church History. 1948. Pp. x, 141. (\$3.00)

RELIGION is one of the neglected fields in Canadian history. Little work has been done on the development of religious institutions in Canada; even less on the influence of religious thinking in Canadian life. We have produced no Troeltschs nor Webers. Church history like local history has been left largely to the amateur.

A number of reasons could be given for this neglect of an important area of study but one only need be stressed here: that is the almost complete failure of Canadian historians to avail themselves of the findings and theoretical insights of Sociology. It has been the contention of this reviewer that the strength of Canadian historical writing in the past has been due to the familiarity of the historian with the theoretical tools of political science; political history has been an application and elaboration of theories of the state, parliamentary government, federalism, representation, bureaucracy, and such. Once outside the field of politics, the historian has no frame of reference by which to organize the vast array of material with which he is faced. No problem illustrates this more clearly than that of religion. A history of religion cannot be undertaken until a sociology of religion has been developed; the highly significant work of German scholars in the field of religion can be attributed largely to the strength of the sociological point of view in their thinking.

Without a sociological frame of reference it is not possible to hope for Canadian church histories with much more to offer than that of Mr. Levy's study, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*. To Baptists interested in the history of their denomination this book will make an appeal. It brings up to date the story told more discursively by E. M. Saunders in his *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*. It has, however, little to recommend it to the student of church history or religion. It is not, in the way Saunders's *History* was, a source book of Baptist historical material; there is no evidence that the author went back to the original



documents, even those near at hand. In the presentation of the material, it has all the faults of the conventional church history; there is no attempt to give meaning to the story which is told.

The study by Mr. Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia*, represents the work of the professional as over against the amateur historian. If Levy was writing for Baptists and was always anxious to say nice things about his and their church, Armstrong was writing for historians and brought to his task a much more objective point of view. It is the kind of study made familiar by doctoral dissertations done in American theological schools, and it is certainly as good as most of them. But by virtue of the very fact that it is done by the professional historian, it illustrates more clearly the limitations of the conventional historical method. The author, lacking conceptual tools of analysis, has no pegs except those of chronology on which to hang his material. There is no real grappling with the problem of why certain religious developments took place as they did. Mr. Armstrong describes but does not interpret.

Two other criticisms may be made of the study. It reveals in a way not easy to specify a lack of "feel" for Canadian history. It is obviously a book written by an American scholar who has spent little time in Canada. The second criticism is easier to substantiate. Mr. Armstrong's study should be the authoritative work on the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia. He draws upon a great deal of source material available in American libraries, but he apparently did not visit the Public Archives of Canada, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, or the Library of Acadia University. It seems scarcely possible to do justice to a subject such as this if advantage is not taken of such rich material as that contained in the Manning Correspondence, the Manning Journal, the Dimock Diary, the Journal and Correspondence of Bishop Inglis, the Perkins Diary—to mention only some of the better-known sources. By doing as much as he has, Mr. Armstrong has perhaps spoiled the field for some future historian. On the other hand, it may be that he has contributed much by calling attention to a neglected problem in Canadian history.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

*The autumn conferences: Three organs of Commonwealth co-operation* (Round table, no. 153, Dec., 1948, 8-15). Discusses the autumn meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers.

CARTER, GWENDOLEN M. *Commonwealth status in sharp focus if Eire severs ties with Crown* (Saturday night, LXIII (50), Sept. 18, 1948, 6-7). The whole question of what constitutes Commonwealth membership is sharpened by Eire's announcement of its intention to sever its ties with the British Crown.

COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *The New Commonwealth* (Current history, XVI (89), Jan., 1949, 7-11). The omission of the word "British" from the final statement of the London conference of Commonwealth prime ministers was the sign of a Commonwealth vastly altered from that of 1926.

HODSON, H. V. *The Commonwealth as a living fact* (Listener, XL (1031), Oct. 28, 1948, 627-8). Discusses the contribution of the recent Conference of Prime Ministers to providing an answer to the question: what is the real nature of the Commonwealth and in what forms and institutions should that nature be expressed?

*Indian information, Aug. 15, 1948.* Independence number. Ottawa: Information Officer to the High Commissioner for India in Canada. 1948. Pp. 140.

*Ireland and the Commonwealth: Mr. Costello's government and partition* (Round table, no. 153, Dec., 1948, 44-9).

KOLE, NENE AZZU MATE and FAYE, J. C. *The Africans' place in the Commonwealth* (Listener, XL (1032), Nov. 4, 1948, 671). Statements by two African delegates to the recent London Conference.

MANSERGH, NICHOLAS. *Commonwealth and Western union* (Listener, XL (1038), Dec. 16, 1948, 930-1).

— *Britain, the Commonwealth and Western Union* (International affairs, XXIV (4), Oct., 1948, 491-504). A long-term question that deserves the consideration of Empire statesmen is the extent to which Britain can, if she so wishes, co-operate in a Western Union, whilst retaining a sufficient margin of resources and freedom of action to maintain effective leadership in the Commonwealth overseas.

PATRY, ANDRÉ. *Le commonwealth et la couronne* (Revue Dominicaine, LV (1), janv., 1949, 15-22). "Où l'on voit que le Canada peut fort bien rompre avec la Couronne sans cesser de collaborer avec l'Angleterre et être membre du Commonwealth."

STEVENSON, J. A. *The cost of leaving Commonwealth may be too high for Irish* (Saturday night, LXIV (4), Oct. 30, 1948, 6-7).

WHEARE, KENNETH. *How strong is the Commonwealth* (Listener, XL (1037), Dec. 9, 1948, 867-8). Discusses the prospects for the preservation and augmentation of the unity of the British Commonwealth, in which unity lies its main source of strength.

— *Irish policy and the Commonwealth* (Listener, XL (1034), Nov. 18, 1948, 753, 769). Discusses the consequences of the prime minister of Eire's decision to remove the Crown entirely from any connexion with Eire's affairs.

- *When symbol is dropped, Commonwealth may end* (Saturday night, LXIV (8), Nov. 27, 1948, 9). Discusses the question of whether the Crown is the right symbol of unity for the Commonwealth.

## II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Canadian representatives abroad and British Commonwealth and foreign representatives in Canada, Dec. 15, 1948*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. 38.
- *Report, 1948*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1949. Pp. 116. To be reviewed later.
- CLAXTON, BROOKE. *The defence of Canada* (External affairs bulletin, July, 1948, 9-10). From a statement by the minister of national defence in the House of Commons on June 24, 1948.
- HALTON, MATTHEW. *Will the Atlantic pact work?* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (2), Jan. 15, 1949, 7, 40-1).
- HODSON, H. V. *The promise of the North Atlantic pact* (Listener, XL (1039), Dec. 23, 1948, 955-6). Regional agreements such as the North Atlantic pact, invaluable as they may be in providing greater security and confidence, cannot by themselves construct peace. It is necessary to continue attempts to make the United Nations organization effective.
- INNIS, H. A. *Great Britain, the United States and Canada*. (Cust foundation lecture.) Nottingham, Eng.: University of Nottingham. 1948. Pp. 24. To be reviewed later.
- JOHNSON, GILBERT R. *United States-Canadian treaties affecting Great Lakes commerce and navigation* (Inland seas, III (4), Oct., 1947, 203-7; IV (2), summer, 1948, 113-19).
- MACDERMOT, T. W. L. *Training for the foreign service* (International journal, IV (1), winter, 1948-9, 24-32). Gives some account of the qualifications necessary for a successful career in the Department of External Affairs.
- McLACHLAN, DONALD. *Western union and Atlantic union* (Listener, XL (1036), Dec. 2, 1948, 846-7). The author feels that "the need at present is to secure strength and unity quickly in the existing nucleus of Western Union—Britain, France and the Benelux countries; then to underpin that with the strength of the Canadians and Americans."
- PATRY, ANDRÉ. *Le Canada au Brésil* (Revue Dominicaine, LIV (2), déc., 1948, 289-96). "De retour d'un long voyage au Brésil, pays d'avenir, M. Patry est en mesure de nous dire où en sont nos relations culturelles."
- ST. LAURENT, LOUIS S. *Canada and collective security* (External affairs bulletin, July, 1948, 7-8). Extracts from an address at a dinner on June 11, 1948, in connexion with the Canadian International Trade Fair.
- SWINTON, K. R. *Canadian foreign policy and public opinion* (United Nations news, VII (2), Feb., 1949, 8-11). Part of an address presented to the Canadian Club of Toronto.

## III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

- CASSIDY, G. L. *Warpath: The story of the Algonquin Regiment, 1939-1945*. Published under the direction of the Algonquin Regiment Veterans' Association. Maps and illustrations by the author. Photographs by ARNOLD TODD. Cartoons by JOHN IRELAND. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 372. To be reviewed later.
- GOOD, MABEL TINKISS. *Men of valour*. Illustrated by GEORGE PEPPER. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1948. Pp. xii, 137. (\$2.50) A tribute to the gallant deeds of Canadians in World War II.

LAMB, J. B. *Canada must build navy for sub and mine war* (Saturday night, LXIV (6), Nov. 13, 1948, 12-13). The author argues that Canada needs an escort navy to battle submarines and sweep mines, not a replica of the larger navies of the Great Powers.

STACEY, C. P. *Allied grand strategy in the defeat of Germany, 1939-1945*, I, II (Canadian army journal, II (5, 6), Aug.-Sept., 1948, 1-7; II (7, 8), Oct.-Nov., 1948, 6-10). The objects of this article are "to summarize briefly the information now available on the development of Allied strategy and the great strategic decisions, and to indicate where fuller details are to be found."

#### IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

##### (1) General History

ANDREWS, C. L. *Alexander Hunter Murray, founder of Fort Yukon* (Alaska life, X (4), 1947, 4-6, 21). Gives a short biography of the founder of Fort Yukon, a Hudson's Bay Company post established in Russian America in 1847.

Canada, Department of Public Archives. *Report for the year 1948*. NORMAN FEE, acting Dominion archivist. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. xiii, 252. This report continues the calendar of the Nova Scotia State Papers which was resumed in the 1946 *Report*. It completes the calendar of the first group, known as Nova Scotia A, and also contains the calendar of the second group, Colonial Office Series C.O. 218.

Canadian Historical Association. *Annual report, 1948*. Edited by R. A. PRESTON; associate editor, G. F. G. STANLEY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1948. Pp. 113. (\$3.00) The papers are listed separately in this bibliography.

CARLES, L.-M. *Les Dieppois dans l'épopée canadienne, XVII<sup>me</sup> et XVIII<sup>me</sup> siècles*. Rouen: H. Defontaine. 1945. Pp. 166. (\$1.75) Relates the part played by persons from Dieppe, France, in Canadian history.

CHAFE, J. W. and LOWER, A. R. M. *Canada—a nation: And how it came to be*. Toronto, New York, London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1948. Pp. xiii, 504. (\$3.00) See p. 105.

MCINNIS, EDGAR and REID, J. H. S. *The English-speaking peoples: A modern history*. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1948. Pp. xiii, 513, xix. (\$3.90) To be reviewed later.

MARQUIS, G.-E. *William Wood, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Revue de l'Université Laval, III (5), janv., 1949, 409-20). A biographical article on Colonel William Wood, Canadian historian, who died on September 2, 1947, at the age of eighty-three years.

Ontario Historical Society. *Ontario history*. (Papers and records, vol. XL.) Toronto: The Society. 1948. Pp. 108. Papers are listed separately in this bibliography. Henceforth *Ontario history* is to be published quarterly instead of annually.

POTVIN, DAMASE. *Ménage à faire dans notre toponymie* (Revue de l'Université Laval, III (4), déc., 1948, 309-19). The author regrets that so many beautiful and historic French names have been removed from the map of Canada.

ROBITAILLE, GEORGES. *Dom Albert Jamet* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (3), déc., 1948, 323-30). The R.P. Dom Albert Jamet, author of such volumes as the *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* and of *Marguerite Bourgeoys*, died in August, 1948.

SHEARWOOD, Mrs. F. P. *Women and the university* (McGill news, XXX (2), winter, 1948, 32, 54). Notes on some of the early women graduates of McGill University.

WALLACE, W. STEWART (ed.). *The Royal Canadian Institute centennial volume, 1849-1949*. Toronto: Royal Canadian Institute. 1949. Pp. ix, 232. To be reviewed later.

WARNER, DONALD F. *The James F. Bell collection* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 36-41). James Ford Bell of Minneapolis possesses a collection of priceless documents and books some of which contain unique Hudson's Bay Company material.

YOUNG, SCOTT. *The men behind the front page* (Maclean's magazine, XLI (24), Dec. 15, 1948, 8-9, 57-60). Feature article on the Canadian Press.

## (2) Discovery and Exploration

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *The cartography of the Mississippi*. II. *La Salle and the Mississippi* (Mid-America, XXXI (1), Jan., 1949, 29-52).

ESCHAMBAULT, ANTOINE D'. *Le voyage de la Vérendrye au pays des Mandannes* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (3), déc., 1948, 424-31). An account of Vérendrye's visit in 1738 to the Mandan Indians on the Missouri River.

GAILLARD, ROBERT. *Louisiane*. Paris et Saint-Étienne: Éditions Dumas. 1947. Pp. 556. (350 fr.) Historical novel on the career of La Salle from 1678 to 1683.

GRANDBOIS, ALAIN. *Né à Québec: Louis Jolliet, récit*. Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1948. Pp. 207. (\$1.50) This is the first Canadian edition of a volume which was published in Paris in 1933 and was reviewed in the September, 1934, issue of the C.H.R., p. 308.

SØLVER, CARL V. *Vestervejen* (Grønlandske Selskabs Aarsskrift, 1944, 20-53). Discusses the means by which the Vikings navigated across the North Atlantic.

SØRENSEN, JANUS. *En Danskers indsats i Franklin-tragediens opklaring* (Grønlandske Selskabs Aarsskrift, 1941, 45-99). Biographical notes on Carl Petersen who was a member of three Franklin search expeditions.

## (3) New France

BONNAULT, CLAUDE DE. *Le Canada perdu et abandonné* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (3), déc., 1948, 331-50). Deals with the cession of 1763.

BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Relation du voyage de l'intendant Jacques de Meulles fait en Acadie entre le 11 octobre 1685 et le 6 juillet 1686* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (3), déc., 1948, 432-9). The account published here of the voyage of Meulles to Acadia contains an important study of the situation and resources of the colony.

CADIEUX, LORENZO. *Saint Antoine Daniel* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 185-93). It was in 1648, 300 years ago, that the Iroquois invaded and destroyed Huronia; Father Daniel was one of the Jesuit priests who was slain.

CHARRON, YVON. *Itinéraire spirituel de Marguerite Bourgeoys* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 230-7; II (3), déc., 1948, 351-74). Description of the religious experiences of Marguerite Bourgeoys, who emigrated to Canada in 1653 and founded in Montreal a religious order known as the congregation of Notre Dame.

COSTAIN, THOMAS B. *High towers*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1949. Pp. x, 403. A historical romance dealing with the seventeenth-century Le Moyne family of Montreal. Though the setting could be an interesting one for Canadian history, the story is composed of stereotyped characters and the grim, lurid, and romantic details that make for good mass entertainment, but for poor history.

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *Cadillac at Detroit* (Mid-America, XXX (4), Oct., 1948, 233-56).

DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *L'année 1647 en Huronia* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 238-49).

FRÉGAULT, GUY. *L'expédition du Duc d'Anville* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (1), juin, 1948, 27-52). The Duc d'Anville was in charge of the French expedition which set out in 1746 to wreck revenge on the English colonies for the capture of Louisbourg.

- JEWETT, AMOS EVERETT. *The Acadians in Rowley* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXXXIV (4), Oct., 1948, 367-88). Prints some documents connected with a number of Acadians that were transported to Rowley, Mass., in the winter of 1755-6 during the general expulsion.
- LE BER, JOSEPH. *Un document inédit sur l'Île de Sable et le Marquis de la Roche* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 199-213). In February, 1597 the Marquis de la Roche concluded an agreement with the captain of the French navy, Thomas Chef d'hostel to take a company of soldiers to, and establish a habitation on, Sable Island which was believed to have a strategic value in relation to the North American coast.
- MONDOUX, Soeur. *Les "hommes" de Montréal* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (1), juin, 1948, 59-80). Tells of the part played by Jeanne Mance in securing help from France for the small settlement at Ville-Marie to withstand the unrelenting attacks of the Iroquois.
- ROUSSEAU, MADELEINE et JACQUES. *La crainte des Iroquois chez les Mistassins* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (1), juin, 1948, 13-26). The author's aim is "à mettre en relief la marque profonde laissée par leurs [the Iroquois] incursions chez les peuplades indiennes les plus reculées."
- ROY, P.-G. *Le chirurgien-major Feltz* (B.R.H., LIV (11), nov., 1948, 323-4). On the question of whether Charles-Joseph-Alexandre-Ferdinand de Feltz, chief surgeon with the troops of New France, was of German or Austrian nationality.
- SAINTE-MARIE, PIERRE. *Le développement industriel de la Nouvelle-France* (Actualité économique, XXIV (2), juillet, 1948, 298-311). The author concludes that "il y avait un embryon d'industrie au Canada sous le régime français."
- Les seigneuries de la Nouvelle-France (avec dates de concession)* (B.R.H., LIV (10), oct., 1948, 301-16).
- Le Sieur de C.* (B.R.H., LIV (10), oct., 1948, 291-5). A discussion of the authorship of the *Mémoires du Canada* dealing with events in the last twenty years of the French régime and signed only "Le Sieur de C."
- Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario. *Documents historiques*. 14. *Gloires ontariennes*, I. *Saint Jean de Brébeuf*, *Saint Gabriel Lalemant*. 15. *Gloires ontariennes*, II. *Saint Antoine Daniel*, *Saint Charles Garnier*, *Saint Noël Chabanel*. Sudbury: La Société, Collège du Sacré-Coeur. 1947; 1948. Pp. 46; 48.
- (4) *British North America before 1867*
- ALDEN, JOHN RICHARD. *General Gage in America; Being principally a history of his role in the American Revolution*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 313. (\$4.00)
- ATKINSON, C. T. (ed.). *Some evidence for Burgoyne's expedition* (Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, XXVI (108), winter, 1948, 132-42). Prints some evidence—mostly letters to Simon Fraser who commanded a picked "Advanced Corps" of Burgoyne's force in Canada in 1776 and 1777—which bears upon Burgoyne's expedition.
- BARNETT, JOHN. *Silas Fletcher: Instigator of the Upper Canadian rebellion* (Ontario history, XLI (1), 1949, 7-35). Silas Fletcher, an important figure in the Rebellion of 1837, has been almost completely ignored by historians. This article deals with his life, character, motives, and the part he played in the rebellion.
- CYRIAX, RICHARD J. *A historic medicine chest* (Canadian Medical Association journal, LVII, 1947, 295-300). Analyses the contents of a medicine chest found at Point Victory in 1859.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *Un débat parlementaire en 1849* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (3), déc., 1948, 375-89). Deals with the 1849 parliamentary debates

between Lafontaine and Papineau on the repeal of the union of Upper and Lower Canada.

- *Dossier sur un centenaire, 1848-1948* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (1), juin, 1948, 97-112). On the rescinding of the sections of the Act of Union which made English the sole official language in Canada.
- *Faillite d'une politique* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (1), juin, 1948, 81-96). In 1848 section 41 of the Union Act which made English the sole official language was rescinded.
- HARKNESS, J. G. *Miles Macdonell* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 77-83). A sketch of the life of Miles Macdonell (1769-1828), agent for Lord Selkirk in the Red River colony, and first governor of Assiniboia.
- HISLOP, CODMAN. *The Mohawk*. Illustrated by LETTERIO CALAPAI. (Rivers of America, edited by HERVEY ALLEN and CARL CARMER; as planned and started by CONSTANCE LINDSAY SKINNER.) New York, Toronto: Rinehart and Company. 1948. Pp. xv, 367. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
- JACKES, LYMAN B. *How Canada got its first postage stamps*. (Twenty tales of Canada, no. 1.) Toronto: Canadian Historical Press, 315 Castlefield Ave. 1948. Pp. 16. (10c.) The first Canadian postage stamps were designed by Sandford Fleming. One of these, the famous twelve penny black stamp issued in 1851, was made from a portrait of Queen Victoria that Fleming rescued from the burning parliament buildings during the riots of 1849.
- JENSEN, V. J. *LaFontaine and 1848 in Canada* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 46-54). Lafontaine's work made a profound change in French Canada, and in English Canada. He led the French people "from factious opposition to a full share in the government."
- LAWSON, MURRAY G. *Fur traders vs. feltmakers* (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 34-7). One of the organizations most anxious to annul the Hudson's Bay Company's charter was the Company of Feltmakers; they were equally concerned with fur, as they used it in the manufacture of the famous beaver hats.
- LONGLEY, R. S. *1848 in retrospect: Events in Nova Scotia and Canada* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 55-66). On the achievement of responsible government in Nova Scotia and Canada.
- MACKAY, CORDAY. *Children of the pioneers* (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 14-17). Discusses some of the problems arising from the unions of Hudson's Bay Company officials and Indian women.
- MACLEOD, MARGARET ARNETT. *The riddle of the paintings* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 7-11). William McGillivray was the donor of two paintings, one of Lord Nelson and the other of a sea battle of his time, which hung for many years at York Factory, and whose origin was forgotten and remained a mystery for seventy years.
- MONARQUE, GEORGES. *Un général allemand au Canada: Le baron Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel*. 2nd ed. Montréal: Impr. populaire. 1946. Pp. 151. Baron von Riedesel, who was in command of German mercenaries on this continent at the time of the American Revolution, has left memoirs, letters, and journals which are of interest to historians of the revolutionary period.
- MORGAN, EDMUND S. *Thomas Hutchinson and the Stamp Act* (New England quarterly, XXI (4), Dec., 1948, 459-92). Prints a manuscript of Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts from 1771 to 1774, on colonial rights.
- MURRAY, ELEANOR M. *The medical department of the Revolution* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, VIII (3), Jan., 1949, 83-109). Much of the grim tragedy of the campaigns of the American Revolution could have been avoided had the medical department had the knowledge available today. In 1776, of 47,000 Continentals



and 27,000 militia, 8,200 were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner, and 10,000 died from disease.

PALTSITS, VICTOR HUGO. *The jeopardy of Washington, September 15, 1776* (New-York Historical Society quarterly, XXXII (4), Oct., 1948, 253-68). Deals with the landing of the British army on Manhattan Island on September 15, 1776, and its relation to General Washington's endeavour to arrest the stampede of Connecticut militia brigades.

QUATTROCCHI, ANNA M. *Thomas Hutchins in Western Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania history, XVI (1), Jan., 1949, 31-8). Thomas Hutchins (1730-89) took part in the French and Indian War, and wrote journals of his many military expeditions in the western country which are valuable historical sources.

*The revolutionary papers of Capt. John Currier of Amesbury* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXXXIV (3), July, 1948, 254-76; LXXXIV (4), Oct., 1948, 348-66). The revolutionary papers of Captain Currier, printed here, constitute a complete record of the Amesbury men who took part in the battle of Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Ross meets the Netchiliks. I. By Ohakto, a modern Netchilik, retold in English by L. A. LEARMONTH. II. By Sir JOHN ROSS from the narrative of his second Arctic voyage, published in 1835 (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 10-13). Two versions of Sir John Ross's first meeting with the Eskimo of Boothia in 1830.

SANDERSON, CHARLES R. (ed.). *The Arthur papers: Being the papers, mainly confidential, private, and demi-official of Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in the manuscript collection of the Toronto Public Libraries*. Part II. Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press. 1947. Pp. 241-488. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

SAW, REGINALD. *Treaty with the Russians* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 30-3). In 1839 the Russian American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company made an agreement that "set an example of civilized behaviour for posterity to copy."

TOULMIN, HARRY. *The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia*. Edited by MARION TINLING and GODFREY DAVIES. San Marino, Cal.: Huntington Library. 1948. Pp. xx, 141. (\$3.75) Toulmin was the minister of a Lancashire dissenting church whose members, faced by economic distress, wished to emigrate. On their behalf, he visited North America to report on conditions. He had a capacity for investigation and his reports furnish much valuable information about social and economic conditions in the states which he visited.

TRUDEL, MARCEL. *Projet d'invasion du Canada au debut de 1778: Lafayette, commandant en chef du corps expéditionnaire Américain* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 163-84). The American plan to invade Canada in February, 1778 was Congress's last attempt to deal with Canada unaided; it was no more successful than the 1776 attempt.

VAIL, R. W. G. *A revolutionary spy reports to his general* (New-York Historical Society quarterly, XXXIII (1), Jan., 1949, 20-3). During the American Revolution the Secret Service under Major Benjamin Tallmadge was inaugurated in October, 1778 and continued to give Washington prompt and accurate information of enemy operations.

WAINWRIGHT, NICHOLAS B. *An Indian trade failure: The story of the Hockley, Trent and Croghan Company, 1748-1752* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, LXXII (4), Oct., 1948, 343-75).

WERTENBAKER, THOMAS J. *The Virginia charter of 1676* (Virginia magazine of history and biography, LVI (3), July, 1948, 263-6). The Virginia charter of 1676, published here, although it never passed the Great Seal, is an important landmark in the struggle for self-government in America.

WILBER, CHARLES G. *The siege of Yorktown* (Historical bulletin, XXVII (2), Jan., 1949, 31-2). An account of the siege of Yorktown from the diary of Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, aide-de-camp to General Washington.

WOODWARD, ARTHUR. *Trade goods of 1748* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 3-6). Gives a list of trade goods sold by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1748 with their values in beaver.

#### (5) The Dominion of Canada

*Alphabetical list of the members of the House of Commons with their constituencies and post office addresses.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1949. Pp. 64.

BINNS, K. J. *Federal financial relations in Canada and Australia.* Report prepared for the government of Tasmania. Hobart: Government Printer. 1948. Pp. 75.

*British North America Act and amendments, 1867-1948.* Together with pre-Confederation statutes and documents, a short historical review, a chapter on responsible government and a chapter on the years preceding Confederation; together also with many acts and orders in council relating to Canada and its provinces; to which has been added a new part containing the letters patent constituting the office of Governor General of Canada with appendices and abundant notes. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. 440.

BUCK, TIM. *Canada: The Communist viewpoint.* Toronto: Progress Books. 1948. Pp. 288. (\$1.00, paper; \$3.50, cloth) This book, which is described in the preface as one of "live, creative Marxism," whatever that expression may mean, is by the leader of the Labor-Progressive party and purports to set forth the position of the Communists on important Canadian issues.

Canada, Department of External Affairs. *Reports and documents relating to the negotiations for the union of Newfoundland with Canada.* (Conference series 1948, no. 2.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1949. Pp. 91. To be reviewed later.

Canada, House of Commons. *Official report of debates, fourth session, twentieth parliament, 11-12 George VI, 1948.* Vol. I-VI. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. 6254.

Canada, the Senate. *Official report of debates, 1947-1948, fourth session, twentieth parliament, 11-12 George VI.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. xvii, 716.

*Canada: The liberal convention* (Round table, no. 153, Dec., 1948, 76-83).

DAUPHINEE, JOHN. *Opportunity in Canada.* Foreword by Lord BEAVERBROOK. London: Rockliff. 1948. Pp. ix, 214. A book of information about Canada written for British immigrants.

EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Canadian politics: The old era and the new* (Queen's quarterly, LV (4), winter, 1948-9, 476-88). Gives a résumé of the Mackenzie King era and an analysis of the new St. Laurent ministry and its problems.

ENGLAND, ROBERT. *Contemporary Canada: A mid-twentieth century orientation.* Toronto: Educational Book Company of Toronto. n.d. Pp. viii, 248. (\$2.00) See p. 106.

FORSEY, EUGENE. *Parliament is endangered by Mr. King's principle* (Saturday night, LXIV (1), Oct. 9, 1948, 10-11). A discussion of the implications of Mr. King's remark that the civil service should be regarded as "the stepping stone to the Ministry."

GEARHART, BERTRAND W. *Russia eyes Alaska* (Alaska life, X (6), 1947, 8-9, 52-3). Deals with possible Russian territorial claims on Alaska and the legality of the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the United States in 1867.

G[ROULX], L[IONEL]. *Événements des 8, 9, 10, 11 juillet 1895* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 275-9). Prints a document pertaining to the Manitoba schools.

- HIMEL, IRVING. *Civil liberties must be protected by vigilance of every citizen* (Saturday night, LXIV (11), Dec. 18, 1948, 6-7). A Canadian solicitor shows how human rights can be reduced to a minimum, and suggests that the need for the greater protection of civil liberties in Canada can be met, in part, by adding a bill of rights to the constitution.
- HODGETTS, J. E. *General manager and master mind are roles of a deputy minister* (Saturday night, LXIV (10), Dec. 11, 1948, 6-7). Assesses the contributions of deputy ministers to good government, examines the methods by which they are chosen, and discusses the peculiar abilities that make for good deputy ministerial material.
- KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Communists on the Canadian campus are now briefed for their missions* (Saturday night, LXIV (15), Jan. 18, 1949, 6-7). Analyses the report of the Labor Progressive Party University Students' Conference held at Toronto on September 17-19, 1948. This report sets forth the activities and plans of Communists at Canadian universities.
- LAURENDEAU, ANDRÉ. *Deux républicains canadiens au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Action nationale, XXXII (3), nov., 1948, 188-208). Honoré Mercier, prime minister of Quebec, 1887-91, was one of the significant nineteenth-century advocates of a Canadian "republic."
- *Pour la république* (Action nationale, XXXII (4), déc., 1948, 289-301).
- MALLORY, J. R. *The lieutenant-governor as a Dominion officer: The reservation of the three Alberta bills in 1887* (C.J.E.P.S., XIV (4), Nov., 1948, 502-6).
- OLLIVIER, MAURICE. *Structure juridique de l'état canadien* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVIII (3), juillet-sept., 1948, 280-93).
- RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Honoré Mercier*. Saint-Jean-d'Iberville, Qué.: Éditions du Richelieu. 1947. Pp. 24. Honoré Mercier (1840-94) was prime minister of Quebec from 1887-91.
- SIEVEKING, LANCELOT DE GIBERNE. *North American binocular: Things observed in Canada, the United States and Mexico*. Illustrated by the author with forty of his photos. London: Sylvan Press. [1948.] Pp. 206.
- STEVENSON, JOHN A. *All the parties should advocate early reform of the senate* (Saturday night, LXIV (8), Nov. 27, 1948, 6-7). The author believes that the value of the Senate of Canada is seriously impaired by the overwhelming preponderance of Liberals in its personnel.

## V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

### (1) The Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland

- BORRETT, WILLIAM COATES. *Historic Halifax in tales told under the old town clock*. Toronto, Halifax, Vancouver: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 234. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- CAMILLE, F. M. *A l'ombre du Petit Rocher (1797-1947)*. La Trappe, P.Q.: L'auteur, Abbaye Cistercienne. 1947. Pp. 203. A history of the parish of Petit Rocher in New Brunswick.
- City of Moncton, N.B.* (Monetary times, CXVII (1), Jan., 1948, 26-9). Another in the *Monetary Times's* "Cities of Canada" series.
- DESBARATS, G. H. *Surveying on the Hamilton River, Labrador* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVII (5), Nov., 1948, 215-30). The author surveyed the Hamilton River for the Newfoundland government to determine its water power potential.
- Economic resources of Labrador* (Polar record, V (35, 36), Jan.-July, 1948, 155-62).
- GANONG, WILLIAM FRANCIS. *The history of Caraquet and Pokemouche*. Revised and enlarged from the author's manuscript notes. Edited by SUSAN BRITTAIN GANONG.

(Historical Studies no. 6.) Saint John, N.B.: New Brunswick Museum. 1948. Pp. vii, 62. (\$2.75) Reviewed on p. 79.

LAWSON, JESSIE I. and SWEET, JEAN MACCALLUM. *Our New Brunswick story*. Toronto: Canada Publishing Company. 1948. Pp. xi, 335. A general history for use in the schools of New Brunswick.

MARX, HILDA FISHER. *Newfoundland in tenth place* (Current history, XV (86), Oct., 1948, 209-12). As a Canadian province, Newfoundland will be drawn into a more progressive framework and its economic woes will be mitigated.

MERKEL, ANDREW. *Schooner Bluenose*. Photographs by W. R. MACASKILL. Toronto, Halifax, Vancouver: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 70. (\$4.50) The story of the *Bluenose*, champion Nova Scotian schooner, from its launching at Lunenburg to its destruction on a ledge off Haiti.

*Newfoundland: The vote for confederation with Canada* (Round table, no. 153, Dec., 1948, 62-6).

RADDALL, THOMAS H. *Halifax: Warden of the North*. Illustrations by DONALD C. MACKAY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1948. Pp. xviii, 348. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.

*The story of Fredericton: Fredericton's 100 years: Then and now*. Published under the direction of His Worship, the Mayor and the council of the city of Fredericton. (Official centennial books.) Fredericton. 1948. Pp. xviii, 265.

WALWORTH, ARTHUR. *Cape Breton, Isle of romance*. Toronto, New York, London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1948. Pp. xx, 172. (\$3.50) An account of a trip to Cape Breton Island with anecdotes of its life and people.

## (2) The Province of Quebec

*Les cahiers des dix*, no. 13. Montreal: Les Dix. 1948. Pp. 316. To be reviewed later.

CALLAGHAN, MORLEY. *What I like about Montreal* (Canadian home monthly, XLIX (11), Nov., 1948, 32-7). A feature article on Montreal.

CHARLAND, THOMAS. *L'affaire de Brasseur de Bourbourg* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 250-66). A *Histoire du Canada* published in Paris in the spring of 1852 by l'abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg raised a storm of protest in Quebec because of some of the observations which the author made on French Canadians.

——— *Ferland et Brasseur de Bourbourg* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 267-74). Prints some unpublished letters concerning the dispute over Brasseur de Bourbourg's *Histoire de Canada* published in 1852.

GAGNÉ, LUCIEN. *La campagne de Salaberry en Espagne et au Portugal* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 194-8). It has been thought that Charles de Salaberry (1778-1829), French-Canadian soldier, participated in some famous battles in the Peninsula War; but the author concludes that he did not go to Spain "avant la fin de décembre 1809, ni après le premier mai 1810, et probablement pas davantage entre ces deux dates."

GÉRIN, LÉON. *Le type économique et social des Canadiens. Milieux agricoles de tradition française*. 2nd edition. (Bibliothèque Économique et Sociale, 7.) Montréal: Éditions Fides. 1948. Pp. 223. The first edition of this work appeared in 1937 and was reviewed in the June, 1939 issue of the C.H.R., p. 223.

GREENING, W. E. *In a Red war, Quebec nationalists may argue case for isolation* (Saturday night, LXIV (7), Nov. 20, 1948, 6-7). Speculation on where Quebec nationalists would stand in a war between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *L'humanisme chrétien et le Canada français d'aujourd'hui* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVIII (4), oct.-déc., 1948, 422-40).

- P., A. DE. *Lettres de M. de Puibusque à M. G.-B. Faribault* (B.R.H., LIV (12), déc., 1948, 355-8). Letters written during 1848 and 1849 to M. Faribault, assistant clerk of the Legislative Assembly.
- PARADIS, ALEXANDRE. *Kamouraska, 1674-1948*. Quebec: Chez l'auteur, Probation des Missions-Étrangères, 2186 chemin Ste-Foy. 1948. Pp. xxi, 395. (\$2.00) A history of the County of Kamouraska, Quebec.
- PELLETIER, GÉRARD. *Point de vue du reporter* (Action nationale, XXXII (3), nov., 1948, 180-7). Describes the reactions of the Montreal electorate to the various arguments circulated in the recent election.
- POTVIN, DAMASE. *L'Institut Canadien de Québec: Son œuvre nationale, culturelle et amicale* (Culture, IX (4), déc., 1948, 390-4).
- ROGERS, EDWARD S. *Down the Rupert's River* (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 29-33). Describes a recent trip which the author made down the Rupert's River to James Bay.
- ROUSSEAU, JACQUES. *Le voyage d'André Michaux au Lac Mistassini en 1792* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (3), déc., 1948, 390-423). André Michaux, a French botanist, kept a journal of a trip made in 1792 to Lake Mistassini in northern Quebec which throws light on the geography of the area and on the routes of other explorers of this region such as Couture, Jolliet, and Fathers Albanel and Crépéul.
- RUMILLY, ROBERT. *L'autonomie provinciale*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre. [1948.] Pp. 304. (\$2.00) On provincial autonomy in Quebec.
- (3) **The Province of Ontario**
- BARNETT, JOHN (intro. and notes by). *A letter from Penetanguishene in 1855* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 7-11). Prints a letter from William Sanders, an Ontario land surveyor, which is of value in portraying Penetanguishene in 1855 and in its references to the local history of Barrie and Toronto Townships.
- DARLING, ERNEST H. *John Darling of St. Johns, U.C., a pioneer industrialist and his day-book, 1768-1825* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 53-63).
- GUILLET, EDWIN C. *Cobourg, 1798-1948*. Produced by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Cobourg under the direction of MARGERY PEWTRESS. Oshawa: Goodfellow Printing Co. 1948. Pp. 260. This volume, published to mark the 150th anniversary of the founding of Cobourg, is an episodic record of the life of the town illustrated with many pictures of places and of people.
- JACKES, LYMAN B. *Tales of North Toronto*. Toronto: North Toronto Business Men's Association. 1948. Pp. 28. Contains notes on Castlefield, Montgomery's tavern, York Mills, and on North Toronto churches, public services, and community life.
- JURY, WILFRID. *Crawford, Prehistoric village site: Report on excavations made on an early Indian village in Bosanquet Township, Lambton County, Ontario*. (Bulletin of the Museums, no. 7.) London: Museum of Indian Archaeology, University of Western Ontario. 1948. Pp. 18.
- PHILP, JOHN. *The economic and social effects of the British garrisons on the development of western Upper Canada* (Ontario history, XLI (1), 1949, 37-48). Summarizes some research into the interrelations between the British garrisons—representing as they did the organized military force of an Old World power—and the environment in which they were placed—that of the growing frontier community of Western Ontario.
- REEVES, HELENA K. *In the shadow of the sleeping giant: An historical sketch of Port Arthur, Ontario*. Port Arthur: Chamber of Commerce. 1947. Pp. 24. In preparing this little pamphlet on Port Arthur's history, "an effort [has been made] to capture the romance and glamour of earlier days which have been incorporated into the character of Port Arthur of today."

TALMAN, J. J. *Some precursors of the Ontario Historical Society* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 13-21). The first historical society in Ontario may have been the Toronto Literary and Historical Society which was holding meetings in 1843.

WALKER, ANNIE *et al.* *Fifty years of achievement*. In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Women's Institutes of Ontario. [Toronto]: Federated Women's Institute of Ontario. 1948. Pp. 163.

WILLIAMS, M. L. *Horace Greeley at Niagara Falls* (Inland seas, IV (2), summer, 1948, 96-100). Quotes some extracts from an account of Niagara Falls, written by Horace Greeley after a visit in 1842.

WYATT, LOUISE (ed.). *The Johnson letters* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 27-52). These letters which Henry Johnson and his wife exchanged between May, 1848 and July, 1850 tell of the former's experiences as an emigrant in Upper Canada and give a particularly detailed and vivid account of conditions in what is now Southern Ontario at that time.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

ESCHAMBAULT, ANTOINE D'. *Cent ans de gouvernement à la Rivière Rouge* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 39-45).

MACEWAN, GRANT. *The Sodbusters*. Edinburgh, Toronto, New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. n.d. Pp. 240. (\$3.00) Contains a series of biographies of the pioneers of the Canadian West.

#### (5) British Columbia and the Northwest Coast

ENGBERT, RENNY. *This is Vancouver Island*. Victoria: Diggon-Hibben. [1948.] Pp. 88.

IRELAND, WILLARD E. *British Columbia's American heritage* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 67-73). "Of the three main strands in British Columbia's heritage—British, Canadian, and American—the American has been politically the least vocal and significant and yet perhaps in other ways it has left its impression."

KERR, JAMES. *The coast names of British Columbia* (United Empire, XXXIX (6), Nov.-Dec., 1948, 296-7).

LAMB, W. KAYE. *A bent twig in British Columbia history* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 86-92). The reaction of some people on Vancouver Island to conditions which they regard as unsatisfactory is still a desire to secede from the Canadian confederation.

LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. *Voyage-éclair dans l'ouest canadien et américain*. Montréal: Éditions B. D. Simpson. 1948. Pp. 35. (60c.) An account of the author's trip to Vancouver and San Francisco as a delegate of the Association des bibliothécaires du Québec.

MAURALT, OLIVIER. *Au berceau de la Colombie-Britannique*. Montréal: Éditions des Dix. 1948. Pp. 30. From *Les Cahiers des Dix*, no. 13.

ORMSBY, MARGARET A. *Canada and the new British Columbia* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 74-85). By the time of the completion of the trans-continental railroad, the new province of British Columbia was manifestly Canadian in spirit and custom.

PETTIT, SYDNEY G. *Frontier judge* (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 3-5). About Sir Matthew Begbie, a picturesque figure of gold-rush days in British Columbia who dealt out justice with a vigorous hand.

#### (6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic Regions

ABRAHAM, G. *A northern summer patrol* (Royal Canadian Mounted Police quarterly, XII (1), 1946, 66-73). An account of the patrol by canoe from Providence, Northwest Territories to the Upper Hay River, Alberta.

- *A picture of northern duties* (Royal Canadian Mounted Police quarterly, XII (3), 1947, 222-5). Photographs with descriptive text of a "community sweep" at Cambridge Bay, Northwest Territories to net fish for dog food, and of the preparation there of R.C.M.P. winter detachment quarters.
- [ANDERSON, J. W.] *Arctic trading* (Moccasin telegraph, Nov., 1947, 1-6). General account of conditions in the Canadian Arctic, with special reference to the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company.
- BAIRD, P. D. *Snow and ice conditions on "Exercise Musk Ox"* (Journal of glaciology, I (2), 1947, 75-6). Notes on observations made on Canadian military exercise, Feb.-May, 1946.
- CROUSE, NELLIS M. *The search for the North Pole*. New York: Richard R. Smith. 1947. Pp. 376. (\$4.50) An account of Arctic expeditions since the mid-nineteenth century, in the form of short biographies of their leaders.
- ELLIS, F. H. *Tragedy on the Liard* (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 18-21). An account of the earliest air search and rescue in the Yukon Territory.
- GILLESE, JOHN PATRICK. *Gold and glamour in Yellowknife* (Country guide, LXVII (10), Oct., 1948, 7, 67-8). A feature article on this northern gold town.
- HELMERICKS, CONSTANCE and HARMON. *We live in the Arctic*. Boston: Little Brown. 1947. Pp. xvi, 329. (\$4.00)
- ILLINGWORTH, FRANK. *Canada moves North* (Political quarterly, XIX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1948, 363-7).
- KURIMAI, EDNA. *Highway to Haines* (Alaska sportsman, XIII (11), 1947, 10-11, 34). Description of a motor journey along the Alaska highway from Edmonton to Whitehorse and along the Haines cut-off.
- LARSEN, HENRY ASBJORN. *Our return voyage through the North-West Passage* (Royal Canadian Mounted Police quarterly, X (4), 1945, 298-320). Voyage of R.C.M.P. patrol vessel *St. Roch* from Halifax to Vancouver, July-October, 1944.
- LAYTHA, EDGAR. *La nouvelle ruée vers l'ors; ou, Naissance de l'empire arctique du Canada*. Translated from the English by VICTOR FORBIN. Paris: J. Susse. 1947, 1946. Pp. 330. Translation of *North again for Gold*.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *McConnell's long trek* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 12-15). R. G. McConnell of the Geological Survey made a remarkable journey in 1887-8 which added greatly to the knowledge of the Northwest.
- MACKAY, HUGH. *Moose Factory* (Geographical magazine, XXI (7), Nov., 1948, 273-80). Pictures and notes on life today at Moose Factory, at the bottom of James Bay, the oldest Hudson's Bay Company post.
- Mackenzie memoirs*. Story by C. D. LANAUZE. Photos by J. W. MILLS (The beaver, outfit 279, Sept., 1948, 22-8). A former assistant-commissioner of the R.C.M.P. writes of the life he knew along the great rivers of the Mackenzie watershed.
- MIRSKY, JEANNETTE. *To the Arctic*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf; Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. 334. An account of the story of Arctic exploration and its heroes. This is a successor edition to Miss Mirsky's *To the North* published in 1934.
- PENDLETON, GEORGE. *The Church of Good Hope* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 34-5). On the Mackenzie River, a few miles south of the Arctic Circle, is a Roman Catholic Church noted for its colourful murals painted by its missionary priests.
- POLUNIN, NICHOLAS. *Three Arctic summers: Old-timer resumes explorations, rejuvenated by new methods after the war* (McGill news, XXX (2), winter, 1948, 8-9, 42, 79).



ROBINSON, J. LEWIS. *Canada's western Arctic* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVII (5), Dec., 1948, 242-59). Deals with this region's history, geology and topography, ice conditions, transportation, natural resources, and population.

WINN, BESS. *The Stikine* (Alaska sportsman, XIII (9), 1947, 12-15, 44-50). An account of a journey up the Stikine from Wragell, Alaska, to Telegraph Creek, British Columbia with notes on the history of the region.

## VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS

### (1) General

ANNETT, DOUGLAS RUDYARD. *British preference in Canadian commercial policy*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 188. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

GIBSON, J. DOUGLAS (ed.). *Canada's economy in a changing world*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs under whose direction this book was written. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1948. Pp. xiii, 380. To be reviewed later.

LEMIEUX, O. A. *Problems in census taking* (C.J.E.P.S., XIV (4), Nov., 1948, 469-80). Discusses some of the problems that will have to be solved and some of the improvements that are proposed in connexion with the 1951 Census.

MEEK, VICTOR. *Glacier observations in the Canadian cordillera* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVII (5), Nov., 1948, 191-209).

TISDALL, FREDERICK F. and ROBERTSON, ELIZABETH CHANT. *Voyage of the medicine men* (The beaver, outfit 279, Dec., 1948, 42-6). How a group of doctors and nurses carried out a study of nutrition and health among the James Bay Indians.

### (2) Agriculture

DENISON, MERRILL. *Harvest triumphant: The story of Massey-Harris. A footnote to Canadian history*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1948. Pp. xii, 351. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

### (3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

KESTERTON, WILF. *Many problems and no shortcuts in making Canadians of D.P.'s* (Saturday night, LXIV (6), Nov. 13, 1948, 6-7).

NESBITT, J. K. *Vote means real progress for Japanese Canadians* (Saturday night, LXIV (17), Feb. 1, 1949, 10). At the end of March, Japanese Canadians will be able to return to British Columbia coastal areas if they wish, and it is expected that they will soon be given the right to vote in provincial elections.

### (4) Transportation and Communication

BILL, FRED A. et al. *Life on the Red River of the North, 1857-1887: Being a history of navigation on the Red River of the North*. With an introduction by USHER L. BURDICK. Baltimore: Wirth Bros. 1947. Pp. 122.

CURRIE, A. W. *Freight rates and regionalism* (C.J.E.P.S., XIV (4), Nov., 1948, 427-40). During the last twenty years, the conditions of transportation have so altered that a complete re-examination of the entire pricing system of railways is now required.

LLOYD, TREVOR. *Aviation in Arctic North America and Greenland* (Polar record, V (35, 36), Jan.-July, 1948, 163-71).

MOFFAT, ROBERT E. *Some aspects of recent freight rate discussions* (C.J.E.P.S., XIV (4) Nov., 1948, 441-52).

## (5) Science

- FISH, A. H. *Doctor Park of Cochrane* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIII (3), Nov., 1948, 55-60). Notes on a pioneer doctor of Alberta.

## VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- CONNELL, W. T. *The Medical Faculty—Queen's University* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIII (3), Nov., 1948, 45-50).
- FLAHERTY, FRANK. *R.M.C. has gone modern, wears three uniforms* (Saturday night, LXIII (52), Oct. 2, 1948, 7). Royal Military College, Kingston is no longer an exclusively army-trained institution for a few select cadets, but a tri-service school for the army, air force, and navy.
- GIBSON, COLIN. *On the national library* (Canadian Library Association bulletin, V (3), Nov., 1948, 118-19).
- GREY, RODNEY. *Can the Ontario benchers justify archaic plan for law school?* (Saturday night, LXIV (18), Feb. 8, 1949, 6-7). The order of the Law Society of Upper Canada, who control Osgoode Hall, to give more "practical" training to the students calls for justification of their right to control legal training.
- LEBON, WILFRID. *Histoire du Collège de Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière: Le premier demi-siècle, 1827-1877*. Avant-propos de l'honorable ONÉSIME GAGNON. Québec: Charrier and Dugal. 1948. Pp. 575. (\$2.25)
- LELAND, MARINE. *Un cours de civilisation canadienne-française aux États-Unis* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (2), sept., 1948, 214-29). A description of a course in French-Canadian civilization given at Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- LÉVESQUE, GEORGES-HENRI. *Les universités et l'unité nationale* (Revue Dominicaine, LIV (2), sept., 1948, 76-81). The author sees in inter-university collaboration, the surest means of hastening national unity.
- LONG, MARCUS. *An experiment in international education* (Queen's quarterly, LV (4), winter, 1948-9, 410-19). The International Summer Seminar held at Ploen, Germany from July 1 to August 15, 1948, was the first large-scale Canadian experiment in international education.
- MEDLEY, SIR JOHN. *Some thoughts on the conferences of the universities of the Empire* (Universities quarterly, III (1), Nov., 1948, 494-6). The author, who is vice-chancellor of the University of Melbourne, sets down some of his impressions concerning the conferences at Bristol and Oxford of the universities of the British Empire.
- MORISSEAU, HENRI. *Un collège classique à Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu dès 1805* (Revue de l'Université de Ottawa, XVIII (3), juillet-sept., 1948, 356-66).
- SIMARD, GEORGES. *Pour une éducation catholique et canadienne-française* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVIII (4), oct.-déc., 1948, 413-21).
- WHITTON, CHARLOTTE. *Two generations of coeducation* (Saturday night, LXIV (18), Feb. 8, 1949, 19-21). Summary of the development of coeducation at Queen's University.

## VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- ARMSTRONG, MAURICE W. *The great awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809*. Edited by MATTHEW SPINKA, RAY C. PETRY, and ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS. Prize essay of the Frank S. Brewer fund. (Studies in Church History, volume VII.) Hartford, Conn.: American Society of Church History. 1948. Pp. x, 141. (\$3.00) Reviewed on p. 81.

BASTIEN, HERMAS. *L'ordre hospitalier de Saint-Jean-de-Dieu au Canada*. Montréal: Éditions Lumen. 1947. Pp. 212. Tells of the life of Saint Jean de Dieu and relates the circumstances surrounding the order's establishment and growth in Canada.

FISHER, C. L. *James Cardinal McGuigan: Archbishop of Toronto*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1948. Pp. x, 133. (\$3.00)

WARNER, HOWARD W. *And Jacob called the name of that place Bethel: The history of Bethel United Church, South Augusta, Ontario, 1878-1948*. 1948. Pp. 171. A record of the establishment of the Bethel Methodist Church, in the County of Grenville, the cradle of Methodism in that part of Upper Canada.

## IX. GENEALOGY

CLÉMENT, MARIE-BLANCHE. *Les familles Charles dites Lajeunesse dites Clément* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 94-114).

CÔME, FRÈRE. *Gaussin (Gaucin) dit Saint-Germain* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 115-22).

DELORME, NAPOLÉON. *André Chapdelaine dit Larivière (1644-1740)* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 68-70).

DOUVILLE, RAYMOND. *Quelques captifs "anglais de nation" et leur destinée en Canada* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 123-30). Genealogical notes on some of the New England captives carried to Canada in the French-English wars before 1760.

*La famille Vassal de Montviel* (B.R.H., LIV (11), nov., 1948, 333-43; LIV (12), déc., 1948, 359-66).

GAUDREAU, ADELARD-J., FABRE-SURVEYER, E., LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES, and AUBIN-TELLIER, MARGUERITE. *Études à faire* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (1), janv., 1948, 12-16). Replies to an article by l'abbé Maheux published in the January, 1947, issue of the *Mémoires*.

GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *Gabriel Samson* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 86-93).

— *Han-Chaussée* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (1), janv., 1948, 46-9). Genealogical notes on François and Nicolas Chaussé.

— *Pierre Perrot* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (1), janv., 1948, 39-45).

GRÉGOIRE, JEANNE. *Une des familles Giroux du Canada* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 71-85).

LABELLE, PHILIPPE. *Pierre-Guillaume Péan, 1743-1817* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, II (1), juin, 1948, 53-8). "Cet article a pour but de jeter un peu de lumière sur un personnage énigmatique qui, seul, a porté le nom de Péan au Canada sous le régime anglais."

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Onomastique* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (2), juin, 1948, 65-7). Prints some further correspondence relating to l'abbé Maheux's article in the January, 1947, issue of the *Mémoires*.

MONTY, ERNEST L. *Le major Clément Gosselin* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (1), janv., 1948, 18-38). Genealogical article on an ancestor of the author who lived in eighteenth-century New France.

ROY, LÉON. *La terre de Noël Langlois à Beauport* (B.R.H., LIV (8), août, 1948, 240-54; LIV (9), sept., 1948, 269-86; LIV (10), oct., 1948, 295-300). Presents "le site des terres des premiers concessionnaires de la seigneurie de Beauport, avec l'année de concession et leur largeur en front sur le fleuve."

YOUNG, CLIFFORD M. (comp.). *The Young (Jung) families of the Mohawk Valley, 1710-1948*. Part I by CLIFFORD M. YOUNG. Part II by EDWIN H. YOUNG. Albany, N.Y.: Clifford M. Young, 36 Oneida Terrace. 1947. Pp. xii, 354. (\$5.40)

## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Bibliographie: La querelle de l'eau-de-vie sans le régime-français* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, I (4), mars, 1948, 615-24; II (1), juin, 1948, 138-40).

Canada, Dept. of Public Printing and Stationery. *Dominion of Canada government publications: Annual catalogue, October 1st, 1947*. Ottawa: King's Printer. [1947.] Pp. 161. (25c.)

*Canadiana and Americana: Books and pamphlets to which is added a choice selection on the British Empire and Commonwealth*. Offered for sale by Dora Hood's Book Room. Toronto: Dora Hood, 720 Spadina Ave. 1949. Pp. 50.

FORGET, ULYSSE. *Généalogie et petite histoire* (Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française, III (1), janv., 1948, 3-11). Contains a bibliography of articles on French-Canadian genealogy.

MARQUIS, G.-E. *Annuaire d'adresses et almanachs de Québec* (B.R.H., LIV (11), nov., 1948, 325-32; LIV (12), déc., 1948, 367-71).

MORSE, WILLIAM INGLIS (ed.). *The Canadian collection at Harvard University*. (Bulletins III-VI.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Printing Office. 1946; 1947; 1948; 1948-9. Pp. 53; 110; 116; 110.

SCOTT, F. R. *Bibliography on constitutional law*. Montreal: The author, McGill University. 1948. Pp. 32 (mimeo.). Includes all articles on Canadian constitutional law which have appeared in twenty-eight journals from 1867 to 1945 inclusive.

SEALOCK, RICHARD B. and SEELY, PAULINE A. *Bibliography of place name literature, United States, Canada, Alaska and Newfoundland*. Chicago: American Library Association. 1948. Pp. 331. (\$4.50)

TODD, RONALD. *Theses related to the Pacific Northwest: University of Washington checklist* (Pacific Northwest quarterly, XL (1), Jan., 1949, 65-9).

## XI. ART AND LITERATURE

AYRE, ROBERT. *A country in search of itself* (Culture, IX (4), déc., 1948, 371-7). The author has the impression that the arts were never more alive in Canada than they are today, but that they still have a long way to go.

BELL, ANDREW. *Lawren Harris—A retrospective exhibition of his painting, 1910-1948* (Canadian art, VI (2), Christmas, 1948, 50-3).

BLAND, JOHN. *Domestic architecture in Montreal* (Culture, IX (4), déc., 1948, 399-407).

BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *Le Musée de la Province de Québec* (Canadian art, VI (2), Christmas, 1948, 69-72). The fifth in a series of articles on important Canadian collections.

CHARPENTIER, Madame FULGENCE. *Marcel Dugas* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XVIII (3), juillet-sept., 1948, 342-55). Of the life and work of Marcel Dugas, Canadian born writer who died in 1947.

COLGATE, WILLIAM. *An early portrait by Paul Kane* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 23-5). A recently discovered portrait of Paul Kane's is of little value from the artistic point of view, but, as a historical document and as one of Kane's early pieces, it is of great interest.

- DUVAL, PAUL. *British Columbia's painters are writing new chapter in our national art* (Saturday night, LXIII (47), Aug. 28, 1948, 2-3).
- FRYE, NORTHROP. *The pursuit of form* (Canadian art, VI (2), Christmas, 1948, 54-7). An analysis of the art of Lawren Harris.
- GLOVER, GUY. *Film* (Northern review, II (4), Jan.-Feb., 1949, 26-31). Analyses two recent significant National Film Board productions, "The Feeling of Hostility" and "Horizons du Québec."
- HARRIS, LAWREN. *The Group of Seven in Canadian history* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 28-38). In summing up the contribution of the Group of Seven to Canadian history, the author states that "the effect of our work was to free artists all over Canada, to make it possible for them to see and paint the Canadian scene in its own terms and in their own way."
- LAPIERRE, EUGÈNE. *Le mouvement musical dans le Québec et son orientation* (Culture, IX (4), déc., 1948, 361-70).
- MCCARTHY, PEARL. *Canada's art ferments* (Culture, IX (4), déc., 1948, 395-8). The author believes that the quality of Canadian art is improving across the country.
- MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *Les lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*. Tome I. Deuxième Édition. Hull: Éditions "l'Éclair." Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université Ottawa. 1948. Pp. 187. The first edition of this volume was reviewed in the Sept., 1940 issue of the C.H.R., p. 332.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *Les arts au Canada sous le régime français* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1948, 23-7).
- NOVEK, RALPH. *Drama* (Northern review, II (2), July-Aug., 1948, 29-33). "The only hope for the establishment of a national theatre in this country lies in the medium of radio."
- SANDWELL, B. K. *Callaghan on the soul, Aldwinkle on the fabric of the University of Toronto* (Saturday night, LXIII (51), Sept. 15, 1948, 2-3, 24). An appraisal of Morley Callaghan's *Varsity Story*.
- WALDIE, JEAN H. *The Iroquois poetess, Pauline Johnson* (Ontario history, vol. XL, 1948, 65-75). Throws new light on some of Pauline Johnson's characteristics and various phases of her career.
- WOOD, J. S. *Twelve months of Canadian writing* (Canadian Library Association bulletin, V (3), Nov., 1948, 116-18).
- WUORIO, EVA-LIS. *Mazo of Jalna* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (3), Feb. 1, 1949, 19, 39, 40-1). Feature article on Mazo de la Roche, well-known Canadian author of the Whiteoaks of Jalna series.

## XII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

This section which is contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith and which is usually included in the March issue will appear this year in the June issue.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

ROBERT COLLIER FETHERSTONHAUGH (1892-1949)

Robert Collier Fetherstonhaugh, who died in Montreal on January 13, 1949 in his fifty-seventh year, was one of Canada's leading non-academic historians. Although ill-health kept him from ever serving as a soldier himself, his special interest was military, and particularly regimental, history; and he had to his credit half a dozen careful, solid, and readable volumes in this field. One of the best, perhaps, was *The Royal Canadian Regiment, 1883-1933* (Montreal, 1936). In 1938 he published *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Although not a graduate, he was a particularly loyal friend of McGill University and was for many years editor of the *McGill News*. He was the custodian of the university's war records and the author of *McGill University at War, 1914-1918; 1939-1945*. McGill conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. upon him in 1946.

Fetherstonhaugh did not allow pain and illness to prevent him from continuing active work in his chosen field to the very last. In 1927 he had published *The Royal Montreal Regiment, 14th Battalion, C.E.F., 1914-1925*; and at the time of his death he was correcting the final proofs of a new volume continuing the history of this regiment through the Second World War. As late as December 29 he was writing to a correspondent of his satisfaction with the progress of this book. An obituary notice appeared in the *Montreal Gazette* of January 14, 1949. Appreciations of Fetherstonhaugh's work by W. B. Kerr will be found in the December, 1933 and June, 1937 issues of this REVIEW. [C. P. STACEY]

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## THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES AND THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

The appointment of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb as Dominion archivist marks a very important point in the history of Canada's national archives. In the next few years new and far-reaching policies will be put into effect with regard to the Archives, and thus its present problems merit some attention here. Furthermore, it was announced at the time of Dr. Lamb's appointment last fall that he would have "the special assignment of preparing the way for the establishment of a National Library for Canada in Ottawa." We welcome the government's recognition of the problems of the Archives, and the long-felt need of a National Library, in the appointing of Dr. Lamb.

There are indeed pressing problems for Dr. Lamb to consider in respect to the Archives. This institution is designed not merely as a historical museum for ancient manuscripts but also as the Public Records Office of Canada. It has, however, never functioned as such for the period since Confederation. Now it must collect official government material for this period and for the present day, while it is still available, both for reference purposes and for future historical research. A Public Records Committee was set up several years ago to aid in the collection of documentary material. Two members have been appointed to it by the Canadian Historical Association and it may now serve as a useful adjunct of the Dominion archivist.

At present, however, the task of transferring government records to the Archives is complicated by the difficulty of space. Above all, the late war, which created new and sometimes temporary government departments, has greatly increased the problem of selecting and transferring departmental records to the Archives. Much valuable historical material may be lost if this question is not faced fully and at once. A trained and competent staff is required in order to examine the wealth of documents and to determine what should be saved. Then modern methods, such as micro-filming, are needed to cope with the problems of space. Furthermore, it is necessary to see that this mass of material is housed safe from fire, flood, or theft, and yet is easily available. These important questions, therefore, are among those that must be dealt with in the policies adopted by the new régime at the Archives.

Furthermore, the new archivist has, as a special assignment, the duty of preparing for a National Library. Behind this project lie developments covering many years. In fact, since the days of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, proposals have been put forward for the establishment of a Canadian National Library, and of recent years strong representations have been made on the subject by many organizations. In general, they did not advocate the immediate construction of a large building but rather suggested that first a union catalogue be prepared to list the books already available in existing libraries. In Ottawa alone, it is estimated that there are about a million books distributed between the Parliamentary Library, departmental and public libraries, and other institutions, but no general catalogue of them exists. In the absence of a central national library the Parliamentary Library has, to some extent, been led to serve that function; but, of course, it is badly overcrowded as a result, and cannot fulfil a task for which it was never intended.

Last summer a brief outlining the library problem in Canada was presented to the Library Committee of Parliament. It recommended that a start be made towards meeting the problem by the appointment of a librarian and a small staff to commence the formation of a union catalogue. In consequence, Parliament authorized the planning of a Canadian Bibliographic Centre, "as a first step towards the creation of a National Library," to be staffed by a competent bibliographer, a secretary, and a supervisory committee under the secretary of state.

There followed the appointment of Dr. Lamb as Dominion archivist, with the special task of planning for the Library through developing the programme for a bibliographic centre as authorized in Parliament. Dr. Lamb is well qualified for this task. He was provincial librarian and archivist of British Columbia from 1934 to 1940, and librarian of the University of British Columbia from 1940 to 1948. He has been president of the Pacific Northwest Library Association, the British Columbia Library Association, the Canadian Library Association, the Canadian Historical Association, editor of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, and has contributed numerous articles to historical, library, and other periodicals. We congratulate Dr. Lamb on his appointment, and the historical profession of this country on the awareness which the Dominion government has thus shown regarding the weighty problems of the Public Archives and the National Library of Canada.

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#### EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MONTHLY

The Department of External Affairs began the publication of its new bulletin, *External Affairs*, in November, 1948. It should serve as a reference work of considerable value to students of international affairs, containing as it does a



monthly summary of Canada's activities at the United Nations, a record of international agreements, conferences, and official announcements, and also a number of articles on current topics in the international field. The first number included articles on the North Atlantic Pact and the European Recovery Programme, the second, on Canada and the Far Eastern Commission and the International Monetary Fund. The bulletin will also provide the text of important speeches on external affairs and information on appointments and transfers within the Canadian foreign service. It should therefore fill a real need in keeping the public informed on the current work of the Department. *External Affairs* may be secured from the Department at the price of one dollar a year. Other publications of the Department of External Affairs include the *Annual Report* of the secretary of state for external affairs and periodical reports on the work of Canada at the United Nations. Those interested can also be put on the mailing list for the "Reference Papers" dealing with international matters and the "Statements and Speeches" series on international subjects. A *Catalogue of Available Publications* may be secured from the Information Division of the Department on request.

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#### ONTARIO HISTORY QUARTERLY

The journal of the Ontario Historical Society is now being issued quarterly instead of annually. The first new number contains a significant article by Mr. John Barnett on a neglected figure in the Rebellion of 1837, "Silas Fletcher, Instigator of the Upper Canadian Rebellion." The merit of the first issue augurs well for the success of the Society's new venture. Since our last number, the final annual edition of *Ontario History* for 1948 has also come to hand. It includes an article by Dr. J. J. Talman on "Precursors of the Ontario Historical Society," a timely contribution since in 1948 the Society celebrated its sixtieth anniversary, and its fifteenth under its present name.

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#### SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL ANNUAL REPORT

The *Report* of the Council for 1947-8 not only presents the president's statement on general policies and activities but treats the many committees of the Council, their aims, accomplishments, and membership, and also lists publications and the various fellowships and grants-in-aid awarded in the past year. On examining this *Report*, one cannot help but be impressed by the magnitude of the work of the Council and the large amount of aid it has given to scholarship in various fields of social science. The president's report, moreover, is well worth reading by itself, as a statement of the problems in social science research today and the plans of the Council for dealing with them. The Council's offices are at 230 Park Ave., New York 17.

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#### THE JAMES F. BELL COLLECTION

The Hudson's Bay Company's *Beaver* of December, 1948, contains an interesting article on the collection of books and manuscripts owned by Mr. J. F. Bell of Minneapolis which includes some unique Hudson's Bay Company material. Among the collection are company documents of the sixteen-seventies, the original map of the Coppermine River made by Samuel Hearne, an abstract of the conditions expressed in the conveyance of land from the Company to Selkirk, and a number of rare early books and pamphlets on the Hudson's Bay Company.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE  
AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

The American Anthropological Association and the American Folklore Society held their joint annual meeting in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, on December 28 to 30, 1948. It was the forty-seventh meeting of the former Society and the sixtieth of the latter. A special meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology was held simultaneously. Meetings were held on the joint invitation of the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology; the 1948 meetings were the first held in Canada by any of the participating societies. About 300 attended, including members from Vancouver, Seattle, and Berkeley in the west, from Albuquerque and Tucson in the southwest, as well as from all the prominent universities in the east. This was the first visit to Toronto for many of those attending and the meeting was regarded as extremely successful. The programme was a heavy one; in addition to several papers on theoretical aspects of anthropology, one section was devoted to problems of administration and adjustment of the Indians in Canada.

NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

The Ninth Congress of Historical Sciences will meet in Paris from August 21 to September 3, 1950. The French Committee of Historical Sciences has been invited to convene and organize the meeting. The Congress will include the following sections: Anthropology and Demography, History of Ideas, Economic History, Social History, History of Civilizations, Political History, and History of Institutions. Each of these sections will be divided into four sub-sections: Pre-history and Antiquity, Medieval History, Modern History to World War I, and Contemporary History from World War I (included) to 1939. All enquiries and correspondence should be addressed to the: Comité Français des Sciences Historiques, 96 Bd. Raspail, Paris VIe.

Mr. Gerald S. Graham, who is the representative of the Canadian Historical Association on the Anglo-American Historical Committee, is anxious to hear from Canadian historians who will be in England this summer and who are interested in attending the Conference of the Committee, to be held from July 7 to 9, 1949. Professor Graham may be reached through the Department of History, Birkbeck College, University of London, London EC4, England.

The American University, Washington, D.C., announces two summer training courses from July 25 to August 20. The University will offer for the fifth successive season a course in the preservation and administration of Archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business records. The programme will consist, as in other years, of lectures and laboratory work, with the privilege of internships for the duration of the course open. The fee for the entire course will be \$40.00. Detailed information may be obtained by writing Ernest Pozner, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, American University, Washington 6. This summer, for the first time, the University will also offer an intensive institute in the preservation and interpretation of historic sites and buildings, for a period of three weeks, beginning June 2. Two of the three weeks will be spent in Washington, the final week in Williamsburg, Virginia. The programme will be planned and conducted by Dr. Ronald F. Lee, chief historian of the National Park Service and Dr. Edward P. Alexander, educational director at Colonial Williamsburg. Dr. Donald Derby, American University, will serve as coordinator of the Institute for the University.

## MANITOBA HISTORICAL SOCIETY FELLOWSHIP

The Manitoba Historical Society offers a fellowship of \$2,500 (Canadian funds) for a study of the social history of a given ethnic group within the Province of Manitoba, the Mennonites, Icelanders, and Ukrainians excepted as being already treated. This fellowship is open to all applicants who have qualifications of a standard equivalent to the M.A. degree of an approved university, or such other standards as the Committee of Selection may approve. Some specialized training in history of sociology, and some knowledge of the language of the group to be studied is desirable. Alternatively and at the discretion of the Committee of Selection two grants-in-aid of \$1,000 are offered to mature scholars within the field who may be interested in embarking on studies of racial groups of Manitoba. All requests for information should be addressed to the Secretary, care of the Department of History, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.

## BOOK BURSARIES FOR INSTRUCTORS

The Canadian Social Science Research Council offers "book bursaries" to instructors in the social sciences in Canada. They are designed to aid junior members of Departments, or social science staff generally in the financially-weaker institutions, to secure books directly helpful to them in their teaching or research, when access to adequate library facilities is lacking. They are intended to stimulate broad scholarship and sound research. The maximum value of a book bursary is \$100. Application forms may be obtained from the Secretary, Canadian Social Science Research Council, 166 Marlborough Ave., Ottawa.

George F. G. Stanley has resigned from the Department of History of the University of British Columbia, and has been appointed Head of the Department of History at the Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston.

## BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

*Canada—A Nation: And How It Came To Be* by J. W. Chafe and A. R. M. Lower (Toronto, New York, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948, pp. xiii, 504, \$3.00). Here is a new school text in Canadian history which, in its "Introduction to Teachers of History," announces an intention of overcoming the conventional accusation that Canadian history is dull. By its clarity of organization and presentation, and by its effective choice of pictures and use of maps and cartoons, it goes far toward success in this aim. It does not, however, escape what may possibly be a dullness inherent in the character of a text-book: that is, it looks like the conventional school text in binding and coated paper, in lists of questions at the end of each chapter, and in the black-face sub-headings scattered through its pages. One wonders whether pupils might not be agreeably surprised by a text-book that did not announce its school room function—which kept its lists of questions separate for the teacher, had a bright, tasteful binding and good paper, and put illustrations in block sections, numerous though these might be. Perhaps this would be impractical or even unwise. Nevertheless, despite its opening announcement, *Canada—A Nation* still looks like another conventional text, although an excellent one based on recent scholarship. One minor note of correction: the captions of the photographs on page 471 incorrectly describe a "Tribal" class destroyer of the Canadian navy as an escort vessel and dignify a humble little corvette as a powerful destroyer.

*Contemporary Canada* by Robert England (Toronto, Educational Book Company, n.d., pp. viii, 236). The first two-thirds of this book includes chapters on Canadian citizenship, the nature of the Canadian peoples, the physical environment and its exploitation, the structure of the Canadian state and economy, and the character and extent of social services in Canada. This material is backed with a large amount of quantitative information in tables and charts. The final third deals with "Objectives and Obligations" and discusses Canadian problems in the post-war world in regard to economic and social policies, international obligations, threats to peace, and that pet Canadian problem, Dominion-provincial relations. The whole book condenses a large amount of information into easily available form and should prove useful both as a reference work for teachers and as a basis for group discussions on contemporary Canadian topics.

The Canadian Geographical Society has published a series of "Provincial Geographical Aspects" booklets. They consist of nine 32-page booklets, each describing the various geographical features of a Canadian province and touching on historical, economic, and human aspects as well. They have been prepared with an eye to school requirements and offer a concise up-to-date survey of Canada from coast to coast. An additional booklet on Newfoundland is also to be published. This series is handsomely set up with full-page sketches of the provincial legislative buildings as the frontispieces and lavish photographs to provide a visual cross section of each province and its life. They would be a useful adjunct in any school room concerned with Canadian history or geography. Their price is \$2.75 a set for members of the Society, \$3.25 for non-members, and \$2.50 for school orders of twenty-five or over. The Newfoundland booklet will cost 25 cents extra.

*How Canada Got Its First Postage Stamps* by LYMAN B. JACKES (Twenty Tales of Canada series, no. 1, Toronto, The author, 315 Castlefield Ave., 1948, pp. 16, 10c.). The first in the above-named series of historical booklets, *How Canada Got Its First Postage Stamps*, has now been published. The author and the originator of the projected series is Mr. Lyman B. Jackes. Its object is to make available to school teachers and scholars material concerning Canada which has not previously been published, information being drawn from both private collections and from archives outside Canada. These little booklets are of a size that will enable them to reach any part of Canada for one cent postage. It is hoped that the profits from the venture may be used to set up a permanent Canadian historical research society so that the work thus begun may be continued.

A number of recent booklets in the "Behind the Headline" series have not yet been noted in this section. They are: *France in Travail*, by Anthea Mills (vol. VII, no. 6), *Dollar Famine*, by Kenneth R. Wilson (vol. VII, no. 7), *Canada in a Two-Power World*, by F. H. Soward (vol. VIII, no. 1), *Deadlock over Germany*, by J. P. Warburg (vol. VIII, no. 2), *Growing Pains in Latin America*, by William Krehm (vol. VIII, no. 3), *Communism, Its Strength and Future*, by Max Beloff (vol. VIII, no. 4), *The Awakening of the Middle East* by Elizabeth Monroe (vol. VIII, no. 5), and *Freedom and the News* by G. V. Ferguson (vol. VIII, no. 6). These informative and very readable pamphlets may be secured from the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 230 Bloor St. West, Toronto 5, for 15 cents a copy, or for 90 cents the annual volume of seven issues.

*British North America Acts and Selected Statutes, 1867-1948* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1948, pp. 440). This is a new edition of *British North America Acts and Amendments* published by the King's Printer in 1943. A new Part I has been added, a historical review from 1759 to 1867, containing extracts from important acts and documents in Canadian history, from the Treaty of Paris to the Act of Union of 1840. As a result this compilation provides a handy reference volume for students of the Canadian constitution.

